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ON THE COVER: Photograph by Niael Parry—CPi



In Iraq's Sinjar Mountains on Aug. 12, Yezidi families, members of a sect threatened by ISIS, board an Iraqi air force rescue helicopter. Photograph by Moises Saman—Magnum for TIME

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# Remembering Robin Williams

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THE ESSION CONTROL to adultivide making, except for the internal control for one week in incurs. May A. A. A. A. A. A. A. A. Control for control for the line. The including conformation of the line of the line. May a for adult for adult for the line. The line of the line of the line. The line of the line of the line of the line. The line of the line of

TIME August 25, 2014

# The Master Critic



RICHARD CORLISS HAS CRAFTED EXquisite stories on tight deadlines many times before, including cover-length portraits of Johnny Cash and Jimmy Stewart. But he counts Robin Williams' death by his own hand as the most

shocking. The loss is more estimic, more polignant. His millions of fans have one question: Why? And one thought. Thank you." Corlies is to wise to conduct an arm's-length postmortem; but he does recall meeting Williams at a press luncheon in Cannes in 1998. This was the calm, thoughtful Robin, bringing shading and insight to each reporter's questions? Richard says. "I now wonder if his cacophony of voices, his inner angel-demons, were making inspired fun of us all."

Corliss was hard at work on his tribute when word came of Lauren Bacill's passing—two preccious stars with enduring power whose careers played out a cross oy ears of history. In occurred to me to enlist another writer when Bacill died, but not for long. Richard has served as Tina's masterly guide through Hollywood, and many other worlds, for 34 years, and characteristically, he volunteered for service again.

With his broadcaster's baritone and bespoke sneakers (some featuring studio logos or cartoon characters), Corliss is a unique presence in our halls. He ranks among the longest-tenured critics in American journalism and is surely the most quoted writer in TIME's history. His warmth and eagerness to help young colleagues is such that one time, when his editors refused his request that he share his byline with two gifted reporters, he went back and rewrote the story so that the first letter of each paragraph spelled out their names. He can no longer entertain surreptitious smokers in his office, but he continues to flaunt a greater repertoire of film facts, tall tales, sharp insights and character sketches than anyone I know. Plus, every 20 years or so he finds time to write a book: Talking Pictures in 1974, a monograph on Lolita in 1994 and Mom in the Movies this year. His next project? "Get back to me in 2034."

Nancy Gibbs, MANAGING EDITOR

Chars intelevision

FROM THE ARCHIVE Robin Williams first appeared on the cover of 'TIME 35 years ago as the breakout star of Mork & Mindy, Musing about the throngs of fams he encountered on the streets of Venice, Calif., Williams said, "I felt like I was in the San Diego Zoo." For more from that story, visit time, com/robintro.



BEHIND THE STORY On Aug. 12, while covering the crisis in Iraq for TIME (see page 26), Magrum photographer Moses Saman became part of the story when the relief helicopte he was riding in crashed in northern Iraq, killing the pilot, Mayled Abdulf Salm, and Injuring many passengers. The aircraft had just dropped of bread, water and other supplies for refugees in the Sinjar Mountains, where Saman took the above shot. T ready thought was going to sophystate, "readils Saman, who was treated for minor injuries at a local hospital. "Everyone was in a state of shock," For more on Samans his proving file, sith strowley filed, visit lighthoot.time.com

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In Briefing (Aug. 18), we misidentified the location of the largest U.S. coal-fired power plant. It is roughly 130 miles north of Flagstaff, Ariz.

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MOBILIZING YOUR WORLD



# **Briefing**

# 'The country

FUAD MASUM, Iraqi President, formally nominating Haider al-Abadi to be Prime Minister despite opposition from longtime Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki



## 'There is a high probability.

ANDERS FOGH RASMUSSEN. NATO Secretary-General, on whether the Russian military



# 10 million

changed how they identify their race or ethnicity when asked by the Census Bureau over the course of a decade

# \$4 million

Amount raised by the ALS Association from July 29 through Aug. 12, thanks to a viral fundraising challenge asking people to douse themselves with ice water: that's up from \$1.1 million in the same period last year















# "DON'T DO STUPID STUFF" IS NOT AN ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE.

HILLARY CLINTON, former U.S. Secretary of State, criticizing President Obama's approach to foreign policy as overly cautious during an interview with the Atlantic







its spring quarter, up from \$740 million during the same period last year

'No one knows more about dramatic males than I do.'



herdating history before presenting Choice Actor in a Drama Movie at the Teen Choice Awards

# 'A lot of people saw this as Noah's Ark.'

DR. BRUCE RIBNER, infectious-disease physician, on those who did not believe his unit at Emory University Hospitalwhich has led the care of American patients with the Ebola virus-would prove useful





# World

## Eastern Ukraine Teeters on the Brink Of Full-Blown War

BY SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN

The conflict in eastern Ukraine has descended into siege warfare. After four months of fighting, government forces have managed to surround the last two strongholds of the pro-Russian separatist rebels, pounding them with heavy artillery and cutting off supplies of water, power and natural gas.

As a result, the death toll doubled in two weeks, reaching 2,086 as of Aug. 10, the U.N. said. The rebels have been fighting back ferociously, answering the army's barrages with volleys of their own and resorting to guerrilla tactics.

As the conflict continued, a shell hit a prison on Aug. 11, killing one inmate and allowing more than 100 others to escape. Other shells have hit residential areas. Amid the violence, the U.N. said on Aug. 5 that 730,000 people had fled to Russia, while 120,000 escaped to other parts of Ukraine

Attention now is focused on a convoy of nearly 300 trucks bound for the war zone from Russia. The Kremlin says the convoy is carrying humanitarian aid. But Ukrainian authorities, fearing that the trucks could become a bridgehead for a Russian invasion, have said they won't allow them to enter the country.

Kiev's Western allies share those concerns. The head of the NATO military alliance said there is a "high probability" of a Russian invasion, possibly under the guise of an aid mission. The rebel fighters may be under siege, but with roughly 20,000 Russian troops poised at the border and the convoy snaking toward Ukraine, the risk of a full-blown war in Europe has only grown.



120,000 escaped to A Ukrainian soldier takes cover after firing a mortar round other parts of Ukraine. during fighting against separatists in eastern Ukraine



DO YOU HAVE CONFIDENCE IN YOUR JUDICIARY?

Gallup posed the question to people in 28 African countries. Here's a sampling of those who said yes:



69% Malawi



51% Zimbabwe



Uganda



Congo



THE EXPLAINER
ERDOGAN'S
SECOND ACT

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan was elected President on Aug. 10 in the country's first direct presidential vote, after party rules barred him from seeking a fourth term as Premier. His victory heralds a change in the balance of power between the two highest offices of the Turkish state.

REMANDE THE PRESIDENCY CUrrently held by Abdullah Gul, the post
has traditionally been ceremonial, but Erdogan has vowed to continue to play an active role in
Turkish polities, pointing to his
mandate as the first President to
be popularly elected instead of being chosen by parliament. He is
expected to seek constitutional
changes to formally create a U.S.style executive presidency.

CHOOSING A SUCCESSOB Before taking office on Aug. 28, Erdogan will oversee the selection of a new leader of his party, who will likely become the next Prime Minister. He is expected to pick a staunch loyalist who would back his political agenda.

WHAT'S NEXT Erdogan's plans to centralize power have prompted concerns about creeping authoritarianism. His crackdown on antigovernment protesters last year and attempts to block access to YouTube and Twitter drew criticism at home and abroad.

#### ARGENTINA

'I didn't want to die without hugging him.'

ESTELA CARROTTO, president of Grandmothers: Plaza de Mayo, a group searching for children stolen and illegally sent for adoption under the 1970s military junta in Argentina, after locating her missing grandson Ignacio Hurban; he was the 114th grandchild to be "recovered" by the group.



# Panda-monium

CHINA Ju Xiao, a giant panda housed at a zoo in Guangzhou, China, embraces a cub-one of three she delivered in July, according to the zoo, which unveiled the rare births on Aug. 12. The cubs—the world's only known surviving panda triplets were conceived as part of China's artificial-breeding program to boost its panda population. The critically endangered animals have a notoriously low birthrate, and only about 1,600 remain in the wild. Photograph by Liu Dawel-Xinhua Press/Corbis

# The World's Cybercrime Hot Spots

A group of Russian hackers has gathered 1.2 billion user-name-and-password combinations from Internet users since 2011, according to Hold Security, a cybersecurity firm, Cybercriminals in Russia and Eastern Europe are considered the most technologically advanced-but they are not alone. Below, other countries that have become known as bases for sophisticated hackers.





#### The government is suspected of hiring skilled domestic hackers to mount attacks abroad. In May, the U.S. accused five officials in China of leading

an effort to target

American firms.



Experts say Brazil is an emerging cybercrime hot soot where criminals buy sophisticated software from Russia and Eastern Europe to steal private data like banking passwords.



# Nigeria

The original home of scam emails, Nigeria has become a destination for international hacking syndicates, partly because authorities have been slow to crack down on

cybercriminals.



## Vietnam

The country's thriving tech sector has produced skilled hackers, experts say. Last year the U.S. charged a man from Ho Chi Minh City for his part in a \$200 million online credit-card fraud.



#### MILLION Value of gold bars

and coins allegedly stolen by three French construction workers who chanced upon the trove while working on a Normandy property



# **Trending In**





ity by a U.N



RECOVERY The Malaysian





# World

# **The Accidental War**

Entrenched interests drove Hamas and Israel to their deadliest impasse

BY KARL VICK/GAZA CITY

BEFORE BECOMING WHAT IT IS today-a shattered urban battlefield at the heart of an intractable war-the Gaza Strip was a refuge. The enclave beside the Mediterranean was one of two areas Palestinians fled to during the 1948 war that established Israel as a state. Today 70% of its 1.8 million residents count themselves as refugees of that conflict, a far higher proportion than in the terraced biblical hills of the West Bank to which Palestinians also fled in 1048.

"We had a war," says Etty Hodefi Cohen, who works in Ashdod, an Israeli city within easy striking distance of Gaza rockets. "1948. We won. We thought it was decided."

It wasn't. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict refuses to be decided. They had yet another war over the past five weeks, one of the bloodiest in the centuries-long conflict and quite possibly the hardest to comprehend. From a distance, this latest Gaza war first appeared to be about murdered teenagers. Then it was about missiles, thousands of which were fired by Gaza militants in indiscriminate volleys toward Israel. Finally it was about tunnelsconcrete-reinforced and more numerous than Israeli officials had thought-running under the sandy soil of the Gaza Strip toward Israel and delivering a threat captured by Israel Defense Forces surveillance video on July 17:

13 dark figures emerging from the earth carrying guns.

Two weeks later, after Israel declared the 32 tunnels eliminated, the fighting raged on and the number of deaths approached 2,000, almost all of them Palestinian, a quarter of them children. Successive cease-fires came, expired, then came again as both sides met in Cairo to talk about the terms of al asting truce. The negotiations underlined the nagging question at the heart of the most devastating fight Gaza has yet seen: Why?

"I ask myself that question all the time," says Nahed Ferwana, 28, at the counter of a pharmacy in Shejaiya, where more than 70 people have died. "I still don't know."

The painful truth appears to be that the battle in Gaza was fought, as trench warfare tends to be, largely as a matter of routine. Neither side expected the fighting to resolve any of the core issues of the conflict, like the fate of the Gazan refugees or Israel's security from attacks. Rather, renewed fighting hinged on bureaucratic particulars institutionalized by decades of conflict. Among other things, Gaza's ruling Hamas party wanted Palestinian fishermen to be allowed not three but six nautical miles into the Mediterranean. Israel refused to address the request while under fire and demanded offshore inspections of all cargo headed to Gaza, to prevent-or more realistical-



ly, slow—militants' restocking their badly depleted missile stores.

"I call it the stupid war," says Raif Sourani, director of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, his eyes flashing in rage as he speaks in the driveway of al-Shifa. Like every other medical facility in Gaza, al-Shifa was regularly overwhelmed during the war by arrivals of gurneys splattered with the blood of the wounded and the dead. "It's aimless."

It's also a deadly paradox. That Gaza's most lethal fight is 2,029

Total number of Palestinia and Israeli deaths in the Gaza war as of Aug. 12,

according to a U.N. report



also its hardest to trace makes it all the harder to end. Absent achievable goals, only exhaustion may finally force both sides to break the habit of war.

HOW DID THIS HAPPEN? MOSTLY

by accident. The sequence began with a shotgun wedding, Hamas and Fatah, the odd couple of Palestinian factions—one Islamist, the other secular—had been feuding for eight years, having come to blows over who would rule in Gaza. Hamas prevailed, leaving Fatah with the West Bank, but on June z the two sides for

mally ended their rift, installing a unity government that, tellingly, included no one from Hamas. Politically, the Islamic Resistance Movement, as it is formally known, was on its heels. Shut out by first one longtime sponsor, Iran, and then another, Egypt, Hamas began the summer at its lowest point ever.

And things were about to get worse. Ten days after the unity pact, three Israeli teens were kidnapped while hitch hiking in the West Bank, where they were studying religion in one of the 200 or so Thirty seconds over Gaza Israeli forces often texted or called residents just before bombing their buildings

settlements Israel maintains there. Their presumed abductors were linked by Israeli security services to Hamas. In response, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu sent thousands of troops into the West Bank with the goal of shutting down Hamas, arresting its activists and shuttering its offices. "There is no possibility of talking peace with Israel while, at the same time, establishing a unity government with Hamas, a terrorist organization that aspires to destroy Israel," Netanyahu said on June 14.

It was the biggest crackdown on the West Bank in a decade and widely seen by Palestinians as the start of the battle that finally moved to Gaza. The route ran through Israel itself. When the teens turned up dead on June 30, the cries for revenge were answered by Jewish extremists who within hours allegedly abducted and burned alive a 16-year-old Palestinian from East Jerusalem. The atrocity inflamed the Palestinian population that resides within Israel, where every fifth citizen is an Arab.

As the protests raged, Gaza militants offered solidarity: Hamas called for a third intifadeh, while other factions fired rockets toward Israel. Netanyahu first warned Hamas to halt the fire, then launched a strike that killed six Hamas fighters. The next day, a new war was under way.

INVASIONS OF GAZA ARE SO routine that Israeli security officials refer to the usual offensive operations as "cutting the grass." But this one was different. Having commenced accidentally, it proceeded onto new ground with unusual vehemence.

Militants had found a

chink in Israel's armor. In June 2006, Palestinians emerged from the earth just outside the Gaza perimeter and dragged into the hole a gangly Israeli private named Gilad Shalit, Five years later Netanyahu freed 1,027 Palestinian prisoners for the one Israeli. Hamas declared a "war of the tunnels," and kidnapping became a primary preoccupation of Palestinian militants wherever Israelis were within reach. By the time the three Israeli teens were taken. Israeli security services had thwarted more than 60 kidnap plots. "Capture them? Why not?" says Samiha Ahmed Abu Ukal. 72. in Gaza City. "As much as we can! In order to free our sons from imprisonment."

So the battlefield was shaped by Israel and perforated by Hamas. The militants' massive strategic commitment to unguided missiles, once capable of inflicting significant casualties, proved largely impotent against Israel's Iron Dome missileinterception system. But by drawing Israeli ground troops onto their turf, as the surveillance footage of July 17 did, the militants could engage at close range. In the ground operation that followed, the number of Israeli soldiers killed in action-64-was more than 10 times the number killed by enemy fire in the 2008-09 offensive, Still, Palestinian civilians paid most dearly.

Israel's efforts to avoid "collateral damage"—including its making calls and sending texts to buildings about to be bombed-go by the boards when a soldier is in danger of being abducted, according to Israeli officials and news reports. To try to prevent another Gilad Shalit incident, the Israeli military activates its "Hannibal procedure," tossing aside precision munitions in favor of artillery barrages around the last place the presumed captive was seen, Israeli military officers say. More than 100 Palestinians were killed in such barrages in the southern city of Rafah. where a mortally wounded Israeli soldier was seen being

The result was a level of violence new even to Gaza, While skeptical of civilian casualty counts being generated by a Ministry of Health controlled by Hamas, Netanyahu's spokesman, Mark Regev, said the numerous tunnels and longer-range rockets necessitated Israel's offensive. "They posed a formidable military threat that did require intensive combat operations." Regev said. Polls showed that Jewish Israelis overwhelmingly supported Netanyahu's conduct of the war.

dragged away.

Those who calculated the damage on the Palestinian side were shaken and angered. "The scale of destruction, death, density of fire—unprecedented," says Sourani, the human-rights activist. "Tm 6o. I'ven ever, ever witnessed anything like it, You have entire areas razed—they don't exist. We have 540,000 refugees in Gaza. Finally, there's no safe haven in Gaza. Not a single place."

This is both the image of Gaza and its perverse value. In the starkest political terms, the civilian toll serves the Palestinians' cause, un-



Attacking from below Hamas used tunnels to kidnap Israelis

derscoring its fundamental narrative that they are victims of Israel. In legal terms, the specifics would help the Palestinians if they try to bring Israel before the International Criminal Court, as some of their leaders have hinted they will. And in terms of international public opinion, the war energized those who promote a boycott of Israel, a blunt instrument that also accommodates degrees of the anti-Semitism that surfaced in some European protests against the war. Eight synagogues were attacked in France in recent weeks, anti-Semitic graffiti was sprayed on a Jewish neighborhood in Rome, and Jewish museums in Norway were ordered shut as a precaution. But Israel benefited as well.

But israel benefited as well. Any battle gainst Hamas—whose unguided missiles constitute a war crime, according to legal experts—ensures that the subject at hand remains Israel's security, a topic easier to address in the short term than peace talks, which collapsed this spring under their own deadweight. And in Gaza, says former military-intelligence

chief Amos Yadlin, Israel's military delivers results. "We can use much more firepower" against the militants, says Yadlin. "We neutralize their main strategic forces and leave them, alone, without any achievement, without any demands, in their devastated place called Gaza."

IF GAZA'S RUIN IS THE RESULT of routine interests playing out on both sides, the devastation this time, however, is so profound, it may have created a point of common interest and a new source of leverage for its hostile neighbors.

Israel wants the Palestinian Authority, which until now has operated only in the West

GAZA'S RUIN HAS UNITED ISRAEL'S NORMALLY DIVIDED ARAB NEIGHBORS AGAINST HAMAS Bank, to take up key positions in Gaza. "Most Cabinet members understand that if Hamas is the problem—and it is—then [Palest thinian Authority President] Mahmoud Abbas and those who do not use terror against us are part of the solution," Justice Minister Tzipi Livni said on Israeli television on Aug. 8.

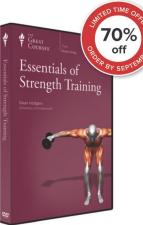
Abbas, who heads Fatah, is a moderate and preferred by Washington, which has mostly watched the latest war from the sidelines. Also backing Abbas are Arab leaders-in Saudi Arabia, in much of the Gulf and, most important, in Egypt-who loathe the Muslim Brotherhood, from which Hamas sprang. All favor seeing his Palestinian Authority take charge of Gaza, even now that it includes Hamas. Turns out the unity deal isn't such a bad idea after all.

"We are praying to God to make them united," says Abu Ukal, the elderly Gaza woman who spoke up for the tunnels. Born in a village just outside Gaza, she tells of her father's selling land to buy a gun, the central narrative of the Palestinian national struggle she has repeated to her children and grandchildren. But it's not what's on her mind just now, on the steps of a clinic at al-Shifa. Never, Abu Ukal says, has she seen fighting like that in recent weeks. Her priority, she reports, is the same one that prompted Netanyahu to launch the first air strikes, in hopes that children in southern Israel would not have to sleep in their shoes. "We need to live in some

"We need to live in some kind of stability," the old woman says. "We get really tired from war after war after war." — WITH REPORTING BY AARON J. KLEIN/TEL AVIV AND YONIT FARAGO/HOLON







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# **Fatal Encounter** A police shooting in Missouri puts the spotlight on race and lethal force

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

IN A SUBURB OF ST. LOUIS, MICHAEL BROWN, 18, an unarmed black teenager, was shot to death by a police officer on the sunny afternoon of Aug. 9. Two Adays later, near dusk in South Los Angeles, Ezell Ford, a black man in his mid acos, was shot to death by a police officer. His family says he was unarmed. Last fall, in a subdivision near Charlott, N.C., Jonathan Ferrell, 24, an unarmed black man, was shot to death by a police officer.

In a country still sorting through the emotions stirred by the 2012 shooting death of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teen confronted by a neighborhoodwatch volunteer in Sanford, Fla.—a coun-

try rattled by a disturbing video of Eric Garner, 43, an unarmed black man, dying after an apparent police choke hold on July 17 in Staten Island, N.Y.—it would be useful to know how often this happens. Are police resorting more quickly to lethal means, and if so, against whom?

But that's data the U.S. declines to collect. The federal government can tell us how many pounds of boysenberries Americans harvest and how many hours per day the average American woman spends gardening. Yet no agency is track-

ing the number of people killed by police. Brown's death brought hundreds of protesters into the streets of St. Louis County, and what began as a peaceful vigil turned into a night of aron and looting followed by days of tension and distrust. While officers in rio legar patrolled the streets of Ferguson, Mo., firing occasional bursts of tear gas and volleys of rubber bullets, local investigators and the FBI refused to release details of the fatal encounter. The officer who shot Brown has been placed on paid leave, but officials have declined to release that sume, citing threats to his safety.

The information vacuum was filled by the testimony of Brown's companion on the day he died. Dorian Johnson, 22, told his story to a number of media outlets, including TIME: They were minding their own business when a passing Ferguson police officer rudely ordered them off the street where they were walking and onto the sidewalk. With little provocation, the officer then grabbed Brown around the throat. Brown struggled to free himself, and the officer drew his gun and started firing.

You can safely bet that further details and testimony will emerge from the investigation to turn this clear-cut outrage a murky gray. It's rare that official inquiries into shootings by police find no justification for the use of deadly force. And most Americans are willing to give some slack to the men and women who guard the public safety. Still, if the eruption in Missouri helps put a spotlight on the subject of police shootings, some good will come of it.

The root of the problem is lack of training and accountability. Researchers who have gathered the of fatal police data that the government won't colshootings in the lect have found that better training and discipline can sharply reduce the out of a total use of lethal force without endangering cops on the beat. Independent researcher Jim Fisher, who counted 1,146 U.S. police shootings-607 of them fatal-in 2011, noted the hopeful fact that New York City reduced the number of police shootings from 314 in 1971 to 16 in 2012. How? Careful hiring and training of officers.

As they say in the recovery movement, the first step is admitting the problem. For St. Louis, that problem includes a long history of friction between white and black residents in a city that is defined by borders and boundaries. Its signature arch is meant to remind us that St. Louis is the place where the East ended and the West began. But its siting near the midpoint of the Mississippi also put St. Louis on the seam between North and South.

The history of St. Louis is burdened by a hyperconsciousness of dividing lines. The Dred Scott case of 1857—that spark in the powder keg of the Civil War-began in St. Louis as a question of whether a man's human rights evaporated when he crossed the border into a slave state. In the decades since, few cities have taken a more systematic approach to racial separation.

In 1916 the city passed a zoning law that explicitly limited where blacks could buy homes. When the Supreme Court invalidated

racial zoning laws the following year, the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange responded with a plan to concentrate blacks in certain neighborhoods. Many white homeowners, meanwhile, signed restrictive covenants forbidding them to sell their houses to black buyers.

Eventually that strategy failed as well. In 1948 the Supreme Court heard the case of an African-American family in St. Louis whose home purchase was blocked when a white neighbor sued to enforce a restrictive covenant. In an early victory for civil rights legend Thurgood Marshall, the court ruled that such covenants are unenforceable.

Next came redlining, the practice of steering black buyers into certain neighborhoods by discriminating on their mortgage applications. And through it all, white homeowners

The number

U.S in 2011.

of 1.146

accelerated the division by moving away from the city center and into predominantly white suburbs-the same white flight that remade American metros from coast to coast after World War II

The shooting of Brown and the violence that followed happened smack on one of those borders. Ferguson is an inner-ring suburb that

is neither black nor white. In its 6 sq. mi., the city of some 21,000 encompasses rougharound-the-edges homes and turn-of-thecentury Victorian manors. The population is roughly two-thirds African American and one-third Caucasian, and while relations among neighbors can be harmonious, the black experience of the mostly white city government and police force is often tense.

A study of police traffic stops by the Missouri attorney general found that Ferguson police tend to stop blacks disproportionately. "Ferguson is notorious for being prejudiced against blacks," says George Chapman, a 50-year-old African American who has lived in the town most of his life but said he recently moved because he was "tired of the police."

Yet many residents were dismayed to find that their city was now known for glass shards, looted shelves and armor-clad riot police, "This isn't what Ferguson is about," says one resident, Shante Duncan, 33. "This is a good community." And like communities across the country, this one is looking to police for some candid answers to a painful problem. - WITH REPORTING BY KRISTINA SAUERWEIN/FERGUSON

## The Rundown

GAY MARRIAGE On Aug. 11 a Tennessee judge upheld the state's ban on same-sex marriage, the first such law to survive a legal challenge since the Supreme Court overturned the Defense of Marriage Act in 2013. Circuit Judge Russell Simmons Jr. ruled that Tennessee isn't obligated to recognize the union of two men in lowa because neither the federal government nor another state can "dictate to Tennessee what has traditionally been a state's responsibility.

MILITARY Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel said on Aug. 11 that the military is walking back restrictions on hairstyles popular among black women after nev regulations drew criticism for racial insensitivity. Grooming standards introduced in March banned such hairstyles as dreadlocks. twists and afros.





The number of casinos set to close in Atlantic City. N.J., this year because of dwindling profits and increased national competition. The latest to fold is the splashy, twoyear-old, \$2.4 billion Revel. Revenue at U.S. casinos staved flat in 2013, while the number of gaming halls has continued to grow.

CITIES Two German artists said they replaced the American flags over the Brooklyn Bridge with white flags on July 22 as an art project, providing pictures and video of the flags to bolster their claim. New York City police are continuing to investigate the matter



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# James 'Jim' Brady

Former White House press secretary By Nancy Reagan

Ronnie and I could tell there was something special about Jim Brady, who died Aug. 4 at 73, from the moment we met him. He had a certain twinkle in his eye and a way of letting you know that he knew what he was doing and everything would be all right. He had a zest for life that was infectious. He loved to hear or tell a good story, laughed easily, could see the silver lining in even the darkest cloud and made the best chili in town!

When it was time to be serious, Jim was. Often, in a three-piece suit, notebook and pencil in hand, Iim was at Ronnie's side, listening intently, brow furrowed in concentration, taking detailed notes so he could brief the press on whatever had transpired. And when Jim gave advice, Ronnie and I listened, because we knew that he had the best instincts in town.

It broke Ronnie's and my heart that Jim and Sarah were forced to face such adversity [after he was seriously wounded during the 1981 assassination attempt on President Reagan]. But they never complained. Jim was a patriot. He loved his country and was proud to serve. Ronnie insisted that Jim remain his press secretary, because it was the right thing to do and the White House just did not seem complete without Jim. He and Sarah became dear friends. I miss Jim and pray for Sarah.

Reagan is a former First Lady and the widow of President Ronald Reagan



President-elect Reagan and wife Nancy with Brady, far right, in January 1981



Frederick represented the very best of TIME

Jim Frederick

Writer, editor, mentor

When a writer dies young-and Jim Frederick, who died of cardiac arrest July 31 in Oakland, Calif., at 42, was very young-we mourn the work that will never be. As a writer and editor at MONEY and TIME, Iim produced penetrating stories about whatever caught his attention. He'll be remembered for his masterpiece, the Iraq War book Black Hearts. The Guardian called it the best book to come out of the conflict-no small feat, as shelves groan from volumes of memoir, reportage and fiction gleaned from those

years and that place. But for those who knew Jim, the loss of the work is secondary. Jim had an enormous talent for friendship, which is why so many people, in so many places, were left bereft by his loss. In Tokyo, in London and in New York he served as a mentor and as a role model for countless young journalists. When Jim took over as the international editor of TIME in 2011, I asked for a transfer to that side of the magazine, almost solely for the chance to work with Jim. I'm glad I did. -- BRYAN WALSH

DIED Sprint car driver Kevin Ward Jr., 20, who was

struck by NASCAR champion Tony Stewart's car during a race in upstate New York: Ward had exited his crashed car and stalked onto the track

RESCUED Twenty-four rollercoaster passengers.

from the Joker's Jinx at Six Flags in Maryland, stalled near the top of the ride. It took five hours to safely remove everyone; no injuries were reported.

TURNED DOWN Bruce Davis, 71, for parole, by California Governor Jerry Brown, reversing a paroleboard decision.

Davis has served more than 43 years for involvement in two 1969 Manson "family" murders.

LEAKED Federal documents detailing the expansion of the terrorist-watch-list

database, reportedly by someone other than Edward Snowden, since they are dated after he left the IIS

WON The PGA Championship at Valhalla Golf Club in Louisville, Ky., by Northern Irish golfer Rory McIlroy, It's his fourth major title and comes just weeks

British Open.



All employees over the age of 35 at India's national public Some may be allowed to stay

radio broadcaster. provided they pass a test indicating that they don't sound "too mature and boring."

# Walter Isaacson

# Don't Run Out the Clock

Barack Obama can still secure his legacy

OUESTION THAT FACES PRESIDENT

Obama, however the midterm elections turn out, is whether he's going to play his final two years as the back nine of a casual afternoon of golf, coasting toward the clubhouse of former Presidents, or as the final quarter of a tight basketball game.

When I was working with Steve Jobs on a bigography in 2009, he had an inkling that he might have only a couple of active years left. As his cancer kept recurring, instead of slowing him, it spurred him on. In those two years, he refined the liPhone and launched the iPad, thus ushering in the era of mobile computing.

Obama has scored two monumental achievements helping restore the financial system after the 2008 collapse and making it possible for all Americans to get health care coverage, even if they leave their job or have pre-existing conditions. Obamacare may be undermined if the Supreme Court guts subsidies for the federal exchanges. If so, the sweeping nature of the reform will survive only if Obama mounts a rousting, state-by-state campaign to rally passion for protecting the new health benefits.

As for rescuing the economy, this could be remembered as a hollow victory unless the recovery restores economic opportunity for all Americans. Growing inequality—of income, wealth and opportunity—is the economic, political and moral issue of our time. The fundamental creek of America is that if you work hard and play by the rules, you can support your family with dignal and believe that your children will have an even better future. But that is being lost as the midel class continues to be hollowed out and the poor get left further behind.

NOM THE FORE TO THOMAS PIKETTY, AND FROM PAUL Ryan to Rand Paul, there has been a renewed focus on the moral imperative of economic opportunity. Obtam seems ready to make that the defining passion of his final two years. Fighting for a fair deal for every American goes to the core of what he believes, rounds out the narrive of his presidency, secures his historical legacy and leads naturally into what is likely to be the mission of his postpresidency.

The foundation for such a crusade could be a simple goal, one with moral clarity and patriotic ON OBAMA'S



#### EALTH CAR

Courts are chipping away at Obama's signature domestic achievement, health care reform. The President may need to mount a state-by-state campaign to protect

Ohamacare

>< <del>+</del>

## OPPORTUNITY

Economic inequality has become the moral issue of our time. The President's efforts to restore the financial system may be judged hollow by history if inequality persists.

resonance: that every kid in this country deserves a decent shot. Obama's got a fresh team in place, and he's already proposed many elements of an opportunity agenda in his remarks on the My Brother's Keeper initiative and other speeches. Among them: Universal preschool, so that no child starts off behind. Quality after school activities and summer internships. Apprentice programs like those supported by a bill proposed by Senators Cory Booker and Tim Scott. What also could be included is and Tim Scott. What also could be included is and the every kid after high school or college has the opportunity to spend a year serving their country in a military or domestic corps.

'VE BEEN READING DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN'S magisterial narrative of the Teddy Roosevelt era, The Bully Pulpit. In 1903, Roosevelt felt a fierce urge to energize the American people around what he dubbed his "Square Deal for every man, great or small, rich or poor." He spent nine weeks crossing the country by train, delivering 265 speeches. Most were carefully crafted explanations of why corporate trusts needed to be reined in and workers needed to be respected. But when he arrived at the Grand Canyon, he began adding passionate calls to protect the environment and preserve nature. The trip not only refreshed his presidency, it also refreshed him personally. The old boxer relished not only the "bully pulpit" but also being "in the arena."

It's probably not feasible for Obama to embark on a weeks-long whistle-stop tour barnstorming for a new Fair Deal and a dedication to preserving the planet, though it would sure be fun to watch. It's hard to break through all the static, but after the midterms, it may be possible for him to propound a narrative that ties together his proposals for economic opportunity, poverty reduction and immigration. A vision of a land of opportunity would appeal to most Republicans as well as Democrats.

For the final two years of his term, Obama could stay above the fray and recognize that it would be pointless, given the dysfunctional nature of Congress, to try to accomplish anything significant. A rational calculus of risks and rewards and a sober assessment of the possibilities for accomplishing anything in Washington would argue for that approach. But I can't help but hope that he decides to race against the clock rather than run it out.



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# **Last Tango in Buenos Aires**

Argentina's debt snarl tells us how risky the global financial system still is



THERE'S A LEGAL ADAGE THAT GOES, "Hard cases make bad law." A recent U.S. court ruling against Argentina, which pushed the country into a new technical default on its sovereign

debt, is a case in point. In 2001, Argentina defaulted on \$80 billion worth of sovereign debt, the bonds that a country issues to raise money. It had to restructure, just as Greece had to more recently, and over the years, some 93% of creditors went along with the cut-rate deals, taking "exchange" bonds that paid 30c on the dollar. But some, like Elliott Management, the hedge fund started by Wall Street titan Paul Singer, held out. Tens of millions of dollars in legal fees later, Elliott won its case.

U.S. féderal judge Thomas Griesa ruled earlier this summer that unless Argentian paid creditors like Elliott and other holdouts 100% of their claims, it couldn't pay anybody else either. Paying Elliott in full would mean that, contractually, the country would also have to pay everyone else in full too—a \$20 billion commitment. The case is full of gnarly legal and financial issues. But what it tells us is dead simple: the world financial order is still far too complex and opaque.

I'S TOUGH TO CRY POR ARGENTINA—OR THE hedge funds. Elliott says Argentina's claim that it has been victimized by "vulture funds" is a populist political strategy to drum up support president Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner's flagging party. "Argentina isn't a poor country livagening party. "Argentina isn't a poor country livagent portfolio manager. "It's chosen for political reasons not to negotiate a fair settlement with us or more usual argue that the Argentine government is a paragon of best practices. Argentina, which had be same per capita GDP as Switzerland in the 1950s, has defaulted eight times.

Then again, the vultures haven't done so badly either. Many bought bonds postdefault for pennies on the dollar. Now they are eschewing an already rich return for a regal one, while setting a precedent that could make creditors reluctant to cooperate when nations default in the future. "This has become a morality play which has given rise to a host of new legal problems," says founthan Blackman, the Cleary Gottlieb partner defending Argentina. Both sides are waging an ugly media war complete

with ad campaigns, as thousands of other creditors and financial institutions around the world nervously await the final result.

HE ARGENTINE CRISIS SAYS THREE IMPORTANT things about the global economy. First, the balance between creditors and debtors has shifted. As data from the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) show, there's more debt globally than there was before the 2008 financial crisis. But now, the largest portion of it consists of public-sector debt. "Debt in the economy is like a balloon," explains Susan Lund, a partner at MGI. "When you squeeze it out of one place, it grows in another." With the rise in public debt comes a greater risk of sovereign defaults, which can wreak havoc on the global economy. (Remember the euro crisis?)

Second, the global economy is becoming more fragmented. The fact that a federal court in New York City ruled in favor of the holdouts is a sign that the global economy is splitting along national and ideological lines. British courts tend to go with majority rule in sovereign cases, and local markets have any number of other ways of handling sovereign-debt deals. The BRIC nations, aside from increasingly cutting their own trade deals, have set up a new development bank, which may become a source of capital for countries like Argentina if they remain shut out of the Western credit markets. That could give Russia and China more leverage over, for example, Argentina's conditions a consideration of the country has the world's second largest shale gas deposit.)

Finally, the case shows how much work remains to be done in making our financial system more transparent. In addition to establishing a single standard for sovereign default, we desperately need to make complex security holdings more visible. Academics like Joseph Stiglitz say Elliott Management actually stands to benefit from an Argentine default, since nearly \$1 billion worth of credit-default swaps exist on the country; that's insurance that will pay out now that Argentina has defaulted. While the Elliott subsidiary that went to court against Buenos Aires says it holds no such swaps, the hedge-fund firm as a whole doesn't disclose trading positions, and the swaps holdings of individual companies aren't public record. They should be. Knowing exactly who stands to gain-or lose-from fiscal turmoil that can affect all of us could help make the right fixes at least a little more apparent.

Argentine President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner



BORROW, RENEGE,

The number of times Argentina has defaulted on its debt obligations: the

in 1827

Government debt as a percentage of the GDP of the world's leading economies, up from 71% at the

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# **NFL Concussion Settlement**

All Valid Claims of Retired NFL Football Players to be Paid in Full for 65 Years
Monetary Awards, Baseline Medical Exams and Other Benefits Provided



The NFL and NFL Properties have agreed to a class action Settlement with retired players who sued, accusing them of failing to warn of and hiding the dangers of brain injury associated with playing football. The Settlement does not establish any wronodoing on the part of the NFL or NFL Properties.

The Settlement Class generally includes all retired players of the NFL, AFL, World League of American Football, NFL Europe League and NFL Europa League. The Settlement Class includes immediate family members of retired players and legal representatives of incapacitated, incompetent or deceased players.

The Settlement provides money for three benefits:

- Baseline medical exams to determine if retired players suffer from neurocognitive impairment and are entitled to additional testing and/or treatment (\$75 million),
- Monetary awards for diagnoses of ALS (Lou Gehrig's disease), Alzheimer's
  Disease, Parkinson's Disease, Dementia and certain cases of chronic traumatic
  encephalopathy or CTE (a neuropathological finding) diagnosed after death.
  The maximum monetary awards range from \$1.5 million to \$5 million depending
  on the diagnosis. All valid claims will be paid in full for \$6 years; and
- Education programs and initiatives related to football safety (\$10 million).

#### How can I get benefits?

You will need to register for benefits after the final approval of the Settlement. You may provide your contact information now at the website or phone number below to ensure that you receive additional notice about the registration process.

Retired players do <u>not</u> have to prove that their injuries were caused by playing NFL football to get money from the Settlement.

## What are my rights?

You do not need to do anything to be included in the Settlement Class. All Settlement Class members will be bound by the Settlement and give up the right to sue the NFL individually. If you want to keep your right to sue the NFL, you must exclude yourself from the Class by October 14, 2014. If you exclude yourself, you will not receive any benefits under the Settlement. If you stay in the Class, you may object to the Settlement by October 14, 2014.

The Court will hold a hearing on **November 19**, 2014 to consider whether to approve the Settlement. You do not have to attend. However, you and/or your own lawyer may attend and request to speak at the hearing at your own expense. At a later date, the attorneys will ask the Court for an award of attorneys' fees and reasonable costs. The NFL and NFL Properties have agreed not to oppose or object to the request if the request does not exceed \$112.5 million. The money would be paid by the NFL and NFL Properties in addition to the payments described above.

# Please Share this Notice with Other Players and Their Families

For More Information and to Register for Benefits:
1-855-887-3485 or www.NFLConcussionSettlement.com

# **An Evil That Must Be Stopped**

ISIS is the most serious threat to American interests in a decade. Why we must counter it



RYAN CROCKER, WHO PROBABLY knows the Middle East better than any other living American diplomat, recently cut to the chase about the situation in Iraq. "This is about Amer-

ica's national security," he told the New York *Times*. "We don't understand real evil, organized evil, very well. This is evil incarnate. People like [ISIS leader] Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi have been in a fight for a decade. They are messianic in their vision, and they

are not going to stop."

We've been in the fight for more than a decade too. It began as a proportionate attempt to retaliate against those who attacked America on Sept. 11, 2001. We successfully ousted the Taliban government that supported Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan, but Osama and many of his top aides escaped. The war against al-Qaeda should have continued as a targeted special-forces operation, but the flagrantly disproportionate Bush-Cheney invasion of Iraq changed all that...and the Obama surge in Afghanistand didn't help much, either. Suddenly we found ourselves locked in the middle of civil wars in both countries for perhaps I should say 'countries'). The President was right to extricate our combat troops from those futile fights.

UT THE RISE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE IN IRAQ and Syria (ISIS-or the Levant, ISIL, if you prefer) has changed the game again. Terrorism has a new name, and now, for the first time, it has a well-organized, well-funded, well-armed military with the ability to take and perhaps hold territory. There have been reports of al-Qaeda elements linking up with the Islamic State. There are reports of hundreds of would-be jihadis from around the world joining ISIS, including dozens from the U.S. ISIS is considered so extreme that Avman al-Zawahiri, the leader of al-Oaeda's central command, has condemned it. The Islamic State is metastasizing and committing mass atrocities with astonishing ferocity. It aspires to attack the U.S. and will, no doubt, soon attempt to do so. This is a threat we cannot ignore.

Yes, we're sick of war, sick of the region and particularly sick of Iraq—but, as seemed clear in the days after of 1r, and less clear since, this is a struggle that is going to be with us for a very long time. It doesn't need to be the thunderous, all-consuming fight that the Bush-Cheney government made it out

#### AN EXPANDING FOOTPRINT

FORCES

## ISIS's estimated

ISIS's estimated 10,000 fighters rely on weapons drawn mostly from U.S. and Iraqi stocks; they include 50 pieces of artillery, six helicopters and more than 150 humwees

#### GENOCIDE

Known for their slaughter of Shi'ite and other religious minorities, ISIS forces killed at least 500 members of Iraq's Yazidi sect in one week in early August



ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, in a rare public appearance at a Mosul mosque

TO READ JOE'S BLOG POSTS, GO TO to be. It will require a strategic rethink of who our friends and enemies are in the region. We may find that Iran is part of the ISIS solution rather than part of the problem—a problem that Saudi Arabia's support for Sunni extremism helped create. We may even find ourselves on the same side as Syria's disgraceful Bashar Assad: ISIS is the greatest threat to his continued rule.

There are real dangers here. We don't want to take sides in what may well become a cataclysmic regional war between Sunni and Shi'tie. We don't want to become the "air force of Shi'tie militias," as former CIA director David Petraeus has said. The best way forward would be to work through a reconstituted Iragi government, led by newly appointed Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi. But we've seen the danger of arming the Iragis in the past; those arms are now being used against us by ISIS. In the best case scenario, al-Abadi builds a government that wins back the trust of Iraq's Sunnis, but that won't hamen overnight.

In the worst-case scenario, the U.S. military would have to fight the Islamic State from a Kurdish base; support for the peshmerga forces is essential. Any direct U.S. military action should be measured and proportionate-an insinuation rather than an invasion, taken in concert with allies who are capable of sophisticated covert operations. This time, as opposed to 2003, more than a few of the regional players on both sides of the sectarian divide want our help in the war on ISIS. The President may hope that he can keep U.S. involvement at current levels-air strikes and the presence of 800 special operators on the ground, who are mostly scouting the enemy and working up new targeting sets. But no one should be surprised if we find ourselves on a slippery slope toward more violence. There will be no escaping this fight, unfortunately.

HERE HAS BEEN ENDLESS DEBATE ABOUT WHO
"lost" Iraq and Syria. Even Hillary Clinton
and Barack Obama are squabbling about it.
We don't have the luxury of wasting time or political energy on that now. There is not a politician,
policymaker or journalist who hasn't been wrong
about Iraq at some point. What's needed is a clear
and united sense of national purpose... as clear and
united as it was on Sept. 12, 2000. Our war against alQaeda-style extremism isn't over, it may have only
just begun.

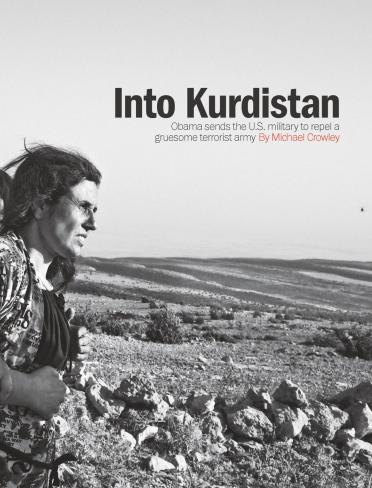
## WORLD

STOPPING AN "ACT OF GENOCIDE"

Yezidi women who fled from ISIS into Iraq's Sinjar Mountains wait for the arrival of a rescue helicopter

Photographs by Moises Saman for TIME





THE KURDISH WORD PESIMERCA TRANSlates as "one who faces death." It is an apt description for the ethnic militiamen who defend the Kurdish territory in Iraq's rugged north. They are known as some of the Middle East's most fearsome and dedicated fighters, qualities that are useful among a people who say they have "no friends but the mountains." In a region where women often cannot hold jobs or drive cars, their devotion is evident in the females who wear fatigues and carry Kalashnikovs in frontline pesimerau units.

But even the peshnerga were no match for the fanatical jihadis of the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS) as they stormed into Kurdish areas of northern Iraq in early August. Fighting with U.S.-made weapons and armored vehicles seized from abandoned Iraqi army positions in June, ISIS routed the outgunned Kurds and advanced to within 20 miles (32 km) of the Kurdish capital of Erbil. Panic gripped the city's million residents, who are all too familiar with ISIS's appetite for murder, beheading and crucifision.

Days later, the Kurds stormed back thistime with American-supplied weapons and the help of U.S. drones and jets, which destroyed ISIS convoys and artillery. It was America's first acknowledged attack in Iraq since the last U.S. troops left the country in December 2017 and, for Barack Obanna, aday hed tried hard to avoid. For weeks, Obanna had refused to strike ISIS as the brutal al-Queda splinter group rampaged through northern Iraq and declared an Islamic catiphate spanning the Iraq Syria border.

But Obama would not risk seeing Erbil fall. However much he hates returning to Iraq, Obama has decided that defending the Kurds is worth it. (He is also considering a small ground force to rescue thousands of ethnic Yedidis trapped on a mountain.) In doing so, he has opened a new chapter in the history of the U.Ss fickle Telationship with the beleaguered Kurds, one that could mark a major shift for the Middle East.

That's because, having rescued the Kurds, Obama is now partnering with them. As American weapons flow to Ethil, Kurdish fighters and territory are proving critical to the U.S. effort to stop ISIS's terroristic thugs. 'Kurdistan provides a base from which we could run a major counterterorism campaign against ISIS's says Kenneth Pollack, a former CIA analyst one with the Brookings Institution. After decades of struggling for U.S. attention, the Kurds finally have it.



A wounded man is carried from the crash site of an Iraqi air force helicopter that went down during a rescue mission in the Sinjar Mountains



#### Provide Comfort, Not Independence

A STATELESS MOUNTAIN PEOPLE MIGHT seem an unlikely partner in the fight against terrorism. But the Kurds may be America's most reliable Middle Eastern ally outside of Israel—which is all the more striking given how often the U.S. has let them down.

The Kurds are among the world's largest ethnic groups without their own state. Numbering around 25 million and with a distinct culture and language, they are clustered in the mountainous region where Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq converge. They are not Arabs but can claim the great Islamic warrior Saladin—a historic giant who repelled the European crusaders in the 12th century—as one of their own. Most Kurds are Sunni Muslims, sharing the faith of ISIS but none of the savage fundamentalism.

Woodrow Wilson was the first U.S. President to thrill the Kurds, with his talk of independent nations rising from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire after World War I. But the U.S. later accepted European-drawn borders in the Middle East that remorslessly split up Kurdish land among four nations and rendered them a suspect minority in all.

As the Kurds struggled—sometimes violently—for independence throughout the 20th century, Washington lent no support, except when it was convenient. Henry Kissinger urged the Kurds to rebel against Saddam Hussein in 1972, when the U.S. was aligned with the Shah of neighboring Iran, only to abandon them when priorities changed. ("Even in the context of covertaction, our was a cynical enterprise," a congressional panel later found.) Ronald Reagan ignored Saddam's use of poison gas on the Kurds in 1987 and 1988 because Iraq was at war with the U.S.'s then enemy Iran.

And it was a small irony that the first American F/A-18 jets to strike ISIS positions near Erbil on Aug. 8 were launched from the deck of the U.S.S. George H.W. Bush. It was the elder Bush who last rode to the Kurds' rescue, saving them from another massacre at the hands of Saddam. The Kurds had risen up again after the 1991 Gulf War, prompting Saddam to use tanks and helicopters to slav them by the thousands. Some 750,000 Kurds fled into squalid mountain refugee camps. On April 6, 1991, the U.S. and its allies launched Operation Provide Comfort, which created a safe haven for the Kurds in northern Iraq enforced by fighter jets in the skies above.

TIME August 25, 2014 29

It was one of history's biggest humanitarian interventions. But the heroism was complicated by Bush's responsibility for the crisis. The Kurds had rebelled only after Bush made unscripted public comments encouraging Iraqis to do so. The Kurds acted on the assumption that the U.S. military would be behind them. It was not, Like Obama, Bush had thought he was finished with Iraq and had no desire to become entangled there. But media images of starving women and children moved Bush to act. The safe zone he created endured and expanded over the next decade, providing the Kurds with something close to autonomy from Baghdad.

#### From Salvation to Transformation

THE KURDS HAD NEVER LOOKED QUITE AS useful to the U.S. as they did in 2002, when George W. Bush planned to invade Iraq. The U.S. brought Kurdish leaders to a secret Virginia facility that summer to seek their help. The Kurds were initially suspicious that the U.S. might burn them yet again. But the prospect of toppling Saddam was too good to resist, and they offered intelligence and coordination, U.S. Special Forces even fought side by side with the peshmerga, who were seasoned from years of hattle with Saddam's military. But the Kurds soon learned that the U.S. plan for a post-Saddam Iraq did not include their independence. Washington did not want to tamper with the region's borders, particularly when an important ally, Turkeywhere Kurdish insurgents make territorial claims—was adamantly opposed.

As Iraq became a nightmare after 2003, the Kurds protected their borders and quietly built an oasis of calm and prosperity. Construction exploded, luxury hotels sprouted, and nightclubs and prostitutes proliferated. In a relatively secular society where women can sport skinny jeans and uncovered hair, designer clothes and luxury cars were soon available in Erbil. Kurds began referring to their region as "the other Iraq." The Kurdish philosophy was, in effect, that success is the best revenge.

Driving this transformation was oil. It was always typical of Kurdish luck that they should live in an oil-rich region but they should live in an oil-rich region but reap none of the profit. That has changed. Although Saddam's regime largely ignored Kurdistan's oil reserves, his fall opened the door for energy multinationals like Chevron and Exxon/Mobil to flock to the politically stable and Western friendly area. 80 oil thousands of Western workers, whose

presence surely helped compel President Obama to take military action.) Kurdistan now produces about 10% of Iraq's oil more than 350,000 barrels per day.

Along with economic growth came vast autonomy. The Kurds have their own parliament and border guards, not to mention the peshmerga. But neither Baghdad nor Washington will grant the Kurds the full independence they have sought for a century. U.S. officials believe the breakup of Iraq will produce only more chaos and bloodshed. Framing it as a matter of Kurdish self-interest, U.S. officials also warn that because Iraq's south produces so much oil, the Kurds stand to lose some \$10 billion in annual shared revenue by going it alone. (The Kurds complain that Baghdad doesn't distribute national oil revenue fairly and say they want to sell their local oil directly. Washington has blocked them.)

ISIS has changed the game. And so once more a U.S. President looks to Erbil for allies and advantage. "The Kurdish region is functional the way we would like to see," Obama told New York Times columnist Thomas Friedmann Aug. 8. "It is tolerant of other sects and other religions in a way that we would like to see elsewhere. So we do think it's important to make sure that that space is protected."

#### **Those Who Face Death**

PROTECT IT HE HAS, WITH U.S. DRONES and fighter jets that have mounted dozens of strikes against ISIS forces threatening Kurdish population areas. In his May, 7 address to the nation, Obama said he was also acting to rescue thousands of Yezdis—members of an obscure, ancient religious sect—who were driven to the top of Mount Sinjar, 150 miles (240 km) west of Erbil, and surrounded by ISIS. Some U.S. air strikes, along with airdrops of food and water, were designed to prevent a possible "act of genocide" against the Yezdis, Obam said.

The Yezidi plight offered a compelling humanitarian rationale for action. (So did the need to protect U.S. diplomats and military advisers stationed in Erbil: an unchecked ISIS advance could have produced something exponentially worse than Benghazi) But to many observers, what really drove Ohama to act was a belief that Kurdistan is worth fighting for and fighting with—in the newest front against Islamist terrorists. "We need to think about Kurdistan as a critical strategic asset in a region that is falling apart." says Pollack. "It would be willing to host













FLEEING CERTAIN DEATH As ISIS approached, thousands of Yezidis endured misery in the Sinjar Mountains. Some escaped to Spria and into Kurdish areas

an American military presence that can give us a base to try and at least contain the violence sweeping the Mideast."

That sort of effort could last indefiThat sort of effort could last indeficounterterrorism campaigns in places like
Pakistan and Yemen, where U.S. air strikes
support a local government's troops. That
approach, however, would likely appease
few of Obama's withering critics on the
left and right. Some military commander
say defeating ISIS could require 15,000 U.S.
ground troops. Liberals warn of a slippery
sope toward quagmire. Nearly everyone
seems to agree with Hillary Clinton, who
told the Aldmit that Obama lacks a 'Celear
strategy' for the Middle East beyond his
motto of 'Don't ob stund she'r.

What it also means, more immediately, is a tighter bond between the U.S. military and the Kurdish forces, which may number up to 100,000. ISIS may have routed the peshmerga in early August, but analysts say the Kurds were poorly equipped and could not compete with ISIS's captured, American-made Iraqi army gear. The peshmerga are "fully capable, given the right weapons, equipment and support, like air support, of stopping ISIS in their tracks, at least from the north," says retired four-star general Anthony Zinni, a former chief of U.S. Central Command. U.S. military advisers are already coordinating air strikes with the peshmerga, says Fuad Hussein, a senior Kurdish regional government official. By Aug. 12, Kurdish fighters had already recaptured two towns from ISIS.

That is only a timy step toward defeating ISIS, which boasts a force thought to be 10,000 strong. Stabilizing Iraq, meanwhile, is a project that will require the formation of a new government in Baghdad that can reunify Iraq and address the Sunni grievances that have allowed ISIS to flourish—a process that has prored extructiatingly slow as Prime Minister Nouri al-Malliki tries to Cling to power. The Kurds are now crucial to holding Iraq together, even if what they want is to leave Iraq.

But independence may seem like a luxury when ISIS is at the door, its men ready to tweet every new atrocity. Which is why the Kurds are willing to work with a U.S. that has burned them before. "We used to say Kurds don't have any friends but the mountains," Hussein says. "But that doesn't ring true anymore." —with REPORTING BY MARK THOMPSON AND IA NEWYON-SMALL/WASHINGTON



#### MISERY BEGETS MISERY

Survivors of the Sinjar crash, including Yezidis and Kurdish and Iraqi military personnel, are loaded onto a second rescue helicopter bound for Kurdish territory. The pilot killed in the crash lies under the wounded



SCIENCE

WHY THE WORST OUTBREAK EVER IS A WARNING OF WHAT COULD COME NEXT BY BRYAN WALSH AND ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN



## PROTECTIVE MEASURES

MEASURES
Dr. David
Kuhar of the
CDC wears
the protective
suiting needed
to prevent Ebola
infections at
hospitals

## THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION IN ATLANTA IS BUZZING BECAUSE OF A DISEASE THAT HAS NEVER KILLED A SINGLE PERSON ON U.S. SOIL, BUT THAT'S HOW NASTY EBOLA IS.

Staffers at the agency's Emergency Operations Center (EOC)—as close as the infectious disease world has to a Mission Control—relay data from the field, producing comprehensive maps of the progression of the disease, which is killing more than half the people it infects, as it rampages through West Africa. The telephones never stopringing, at estament to the fact that on Aug. 6 the EOC was put on Level 1 response for Ebola—the hipsets possible alert.

That means the daily 10 a.m. meetings now spill out of the primary conference room, where Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) officials and representatives from the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) discuss how to handle the deadliest Ebola outbreak in history. one that has already infected more than 1,900 people and killed more than 1,050. It's getting worse: on Aug. 8 the World Health Organization (WHO) classified the outbreak as a public-health emergency of international concern, only the third time the global body had made such a declaration since 2005. "If current trends continue, it won't be long before there's more cases associated with this one outbreak than all previous outbreaks of Ebola virus combined," says Stephan Monroe, deputy director of the CDC's National Center for Emerging and Zoonotic Infectious Diseases, who's helping lead the Ebola response, "In order to fully resolve the outbreak, we're clearly looking at months, not weeks, of effort,"

The magnitude of that challenge is apparent to Dr. Jefferson Sibley, who runs Phebe Hospital in central Liberia, one of the three West African nations, along with Sierra Leone and Guinea, at the heart of the outbreak. In mid-July, the hospital treated an Pbola patient who in turn infected five of Sibley's nurses, an aide and one of his doctors. The patient later died of the disease—as did all of the nurses and the aide. (The doctor survived) After the nurses were taken away to an isolation center in Monrovia, the Liberian capital, nearly 200 staff members at Phebe Hospital Sible Si

return until they received the equipment needed to protect them from a bug that is transmitted via close contact with blood and other contaminated body fluids.

At least 80 health workers have died of the disease so far in West Africa-far more than in any previous Ebola outbreak-and hospitals are closing even as the virus spreads. In Monrovia, bodies are rotting in the streets, and governments are putting into place cordon sanitaires-drawing lines around infected areas and refusing to let anyone leave. Sibley survived Liberia's 14-year civil war, which killed more than 250,000 people, but believes Ebola is worse. "The good thing about the war was you heard the gun sounds, you could run and take cover, but Ebola is not like that," says Sibley, standing outside his empty hospital, "You never know where it is coming from or who is bringing it to you."

For all the chaos and suffering that the virus is causing in West Africa, Ebola is unlikely to pose a serious health threat to the U.S. or other developed nations. It's simply too difficult to transmit, provided the infected are identified and isolated and health care workers are given proper protective equipment. That's the case at Emory University Hospital near CDC headquarters in Atlanta, where doctors are caring for two American health workers who contracted Ebola in Liberia and were then airlifted to the U.S. "We have the resources in place to take care of those patients with the highest-level care possible," says Dr. Aneesh Mehta, an assistant professor of medicine at Emory who is helping treat the American patients.

But there's a reason the CDC is on red alert for a disease that mostly remains a threat to poor Africans. An uncontrolled outbreak anywhere, no matter how remote, can pose a real danger to the rest of the planet. "We live in a world where we are all connected by the air we breathe, the food we cat and by airplanes that can bring disease from anywhere to anywhere in a day," says Dr. Tom Frieden, the CDC director. "That's why it's so important to strengthen global health security and work with countries all around the world work with countries all around the world



so they can do a better job finding threats." Barring a sudden change, Ebola won't threaten the developed world, including the U.S. But there are lessons to be learned from this disease—lessons that could be lifesaving when the next virus hits.

### Lesson No. 1: Mind the Animals

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH INDICATES THAT Patient Zero for the outbreak was likely a 2-year-old child who died of Ebola in December near Gueckedou, Guinea, a town close to the borders of Sierra Leone and Liberia. But that's not where the outbreak began. Like most recently emerged pathogens—such as bird flu and SARS—Ebola is a 2000notic disease, meaning it originated in animals before spreading to human beings. It's not known which



## MOBILIZING THE DEFENSE

On Aug. 6, the CDC put its Emergency Operations Center in Atlanta—the closest thing the world has to a medical Mission Control—on its highest alert. CDC staffers track cases of the disease and direct the agency's on the ground offensive against the virus.

The surge Over the next few weeks, the CDC will send 50 disease specialists, including epidemiologists, data managers and health educators, into the West African hot zone.

Contact tracing CDC disease specialists will locate people who may have come into contact with someone infected with Ebola, checking for further infections in an effort to bring an end to the current outbreak.

Best practices
Staffers will work to
help health workers
and local leaders
understand how the
disease spreads
and how to protect
themselves in the
event of an outbreak.

species was the original host, but scientists believe that a likely candidate would be one or more species of fruit bat, which can carry the Bobal virus without showing signs of illness. Bush meat—wildlife like bats or apes found in the jungle—is a major source of protein in parts of rural Africa, and it's possible for viruses like Ebola to infect human beings if an infect-de animal is butchered and eaten. That first animal-to-human transmission can mark the start of an outbreak.

Such spillover events are rare, but they seem to be more common as deforestation and development bring humans and animals closer together. "The incidence of those spillover events is increasing," says Raina Plowright, a research associate at the Center for Infectious Disease Dynam-

ics at Penn State University. "That needs to be looked at as a source of new pathogens."

In the past, the only warning of a spillover event was a cluster of sick human beings—and by then it was often too late to stop an outbreak. Scientists believe HIV—which originated in chimps—had been circulating in humans for decades in Central Africa before IV drug use, changing sexual mores and widespread interational air travel allowed it to go global in the early 1980s. SARS, which began horseshoe bats in southern China, had already jumped to human beings and spread across international borders by the time it was identified by doctors in the spring of 2003.

Now a new generation of scientists is trying to pinpoint and even prevent spillover events before they occur. USAID's Emerging Pandemic Threats (EFT) program supports a network of researchers who police the borders between animal health and human health in viral hot spots like West and Central Africa and Southeast Asia. By maintaining close watch on the viruses circulating in wildlife and educating people about practices that can expose them to the viruses, EFT may help give the world early warning of events like this year's Ebola outbreak.

It's far from a foolproof system. Researchers have identified at most 1% of the viruses in animals, and it can be incredibly challenging to boost diagnostic capabilities in some of the poorest nations in the world—which happen to be the same places where spillover events unfold.

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GUINEA Red Cross workers carry the body of a 14-year-old girl killed by Ebola; researchers believe the outbreak began in the West African nation in December

But EPT promises to at least give us a head start. "It's like trying to fight a fire," says Dr. William Karesh, executive vice president for health and policy at EcoHealth Alliance, a member of the EPT program. "You don't just invest in fire trucks—you invest in smoke detectors too."

Lesson No. 2: It's a Contagious World

TO A VIRUS LIKE EBOLA, PEOPLE ARE kindling-the more there are, the easier it is to spread. Africa's population has exploded over the past few decades, and the continent is now home to more than 1.1 billion people. That growth is set to continue: a recent U.N. report projected that Africans will make up nearly 40% of the planet's population by the end of the century. Africans are increasingly mobile, whether traveling by road or by air, which is how an American infected in Liberia managed to spread Ebola to the Nigerian capital, Lagos, home to more than 20 million people. "Ebola outbreaks used to occur in Central Africa, but in West Africa the villages are closer together and the roads are easier to travel," says Robert Garry, a Tulane University virologist who has been involved in the Ebola response. "Once the

virus is in a city, it's difficult to ring it off

That's especially true of desperately poor countries like Liberia or Sierra Leone, where health care systems were barely adequate even before Ebola. "We were not prepared to really fight this battle in terms of the material, the training, the people, the expertise," Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf told Liberian health workers on Aug. 10. The CDC is now sending dozens of staffers to West Africa, and on Aug. 4 the World Bank pledged up to \$200 million to help support the global response, but for too long, underresourced aid groups like Doctors Without Borders were the only international forces on the ground fighting the outbreak. Fear of the disease among local populations has made control that much more difficult. with some people hiding sick relatives and even attacking medical personnel. "There is such unevenness in terms of capability and capacity that every country on the planet is more vulnerable," says Gayle Smith, senior director at the National Security Council. "We can't afford for health-security reasons for there to be big holes in the net."

#### Lesson No. 3: Strengthen Homeland Defense

THE EBOLA OUTBREAK MAY HAVE KILLED more than 1,000 Africans and counting, but it wasn't until those two U.S. aid workers were infected that the disease grabbed the attention of Americans. Dr. Kent Brantly and Nancy Writebol were treating Ebola patients at a Liberian hospital run by the Christian groups Samaritan's Purse and SIM when they both contracted the deadyd islease. News that the two would be airlifted to Atlanta for treatment caused criticism from some who worried they would spread Ebola in the U.S. It's an understandable fear, if only because Ebola can kill in such a gristly fashion: some victims hemorrhage so heavily they end up effectively bleeding to death.

effectively bleeding to death.
But there is virtually no chance that
the disease will spread in the U.S. Emory's
isolation unit was more than ready to take
the Ebola patients, who are being treated
by doctors and nurses wearing full-body
protective suits. "This is what we've been
preparing for for 12 years," say D. Bruce
Ribner, an infectious-disease specialis at
Emory who is leading the care of the Ebola
patients. "This is what we're here for."
Most of the hosoitals in the U.S.—
Most of the hosoitals in the U.S.—

Most of the hospitals in the U.S. and throughout much of the developed world—would be capable of handling a few patients suspected to have the disease. With Ebola, the U.S. had ample warning and was dealing with just a few cases of a known disease that doesn't spread easily.

and stop the spread."





LIBERIA A military policeman holds his rifle with gloves to avoid possible contact with the virus during the burial of Ebola victims; over 320 people have died in Liberia so far

That might not be the case next time. In April, an American health care worker contracted Middle Eastern Respiratory Syndrome (MERS)-another new disease that spilled over from animals-in Saudi Arabia before flying back to Indiana via London and Chicago, His infection wasn't detected when he entered the U.S. and didn't become known until after he turned up at an Indiana hospital with respiratory symptoms. The man didn't infect anyone-MERS doesn't seem to be very transmissible-but he could have exposed countless people to the disease. "We were just lucky," says Michael Osterholm, director of the University of Minnesota's Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy. In outbreaks, days and hours matter. The faster public-health officials can detect new infections, the faster they can trace contacts with sick people and stop further spread. That can be the difference between an outbreak and a pandemic.

### Lesson No. 4: Get Ready to Surge THERE'S NO VACCINE FOR EBOLA AND NO cure. All doctors can do is provide what's known as supportive therapy, maintain-

ing oxygen, blood pressure and hydration. And then there's hope—and prayer. But that may be changing. The two American Ebola patients have been treated with an experimental drug called ZMapp, developed by an 11-year-old San Diego company, Mapp Biopharmaceutical. While there's no laboratory evidence of ZMapp's effectiveness, the drug seems to have helped the American patients. who have said in statements that they are improving. (The drug was also obtained for a 75-year-old Spanish priest who contracted Ebola in Liberia, though he died in Madrid on Aug. 12.) That has prompted Ebola-affected African countries to demand the drug. Even though ZMapp hasn't been fully tested yet, on Aug. 12 WHO endorsed the use of such untested drugs to combat Ebola-a measure of how desperate doctors fighting the outbreak have become.

But while Mapp Biopharmaceutical has shipped some doses of the drug to a last shipped some doses of the drug to a West African country—believed to be Liberia—the company says supplies of ZMapp are now "exhausted." There are postential vaccines as well, but those have languished in the pipeline because of a lack of demand and what was until now a slow approval process. "People like me and other switch and the process of the process of the process." People like me and other shows have worked for years in vaccines and countermeasures are frustrated, "says of the process of

ogy and immunology at the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston. "But on the other hand, we don't want to tak a step that isn't well thought through and ruin the whole approach in the future."

In the event of an unchecked and dangerous pandemic, we may have no other choice-and even then we may not be ready. The vaccines made to respond to the H1N1 flu in 2009 weren't manufactured in time to head off the pandemic, though the doses that were made were rapidly distributed. Those logistical challenges would still need to be overcome should a new pandemic emerge. While improvements have been made-the CDC's Frieden touts a "more resilient system" since H1N1-the U.S. health care industry still lacks surge capacity that would enable it to withstand a sudden wave of seriously ill people. "If we had another flu pandemic tomorrow, one that hit people harder, you'd see a major deterioration of capacity throughout the health care system," says Osterholm, And that's the final lesson of Ebola, In an interconnected world, even the strongest medical systems are weaker than they seem. -WITH REPORTING BY CLAIR MACDOUGALL/MONROVIA, ALICE PARK/ NEW YORK AND MICHAEL SCHERER/ WASHINGTON

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# Core Crash. New education standards have turned back-to-school into a battlefield

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS/HOLLY SPRINGS

ETTYE FARROW-WILLIAMS leaned back in a worn metal desk chair, laced her fuchsia fingernails into a prayerlike pose and declared that the world had lost its mind. "Everybody is in a panic," she said on a recent Thursday morning at H.W. Byers High School in rural Holly Springs, Miss., where she has spent the past 49 years teaching social studies. Farrow-Williams was talking not just about her colleagues at Byers but also about the thousands of teachers. students, administrators and parents across Mississippi who are finding themselves at the center of an increasingly pitched battle over a set of new education standards known as Common Core.

The standards were designed by state officials as a way to make sure that students in, say, Montana are learning at the same level as their counterparts in Maine. But as Common Core is rolled out this month in every grade level at every public school in the 41 states that have adopted it, the political controversy surrounding its implementation threatens to derail a program once hailed as a model of bipartisan accomplishment.

In Mississippi, some teachers began the school year on Aug. Ir without knowing if Common Core would still be in place in the state by Christmas, while students aren't sure which exams they will need to study for. Administrators, meanwhile, don't have enough information to give straight answers. "Reople don't know what to expect," says Dante Thornton, the executive principal of Byers, which sits on at wo lane highway between a gas station and a Baptist church. "That's causing a frenzy."

Part of the challenge is that implementing a new statewide program, even in the best circumstances, comes with some hiccups. "It's like taking a wild hog and putting it in a tame place and thinking it's going to be tame right away," says Katrina Wiley, who teaches special education at Byers. "It's going to buck against the system for a while."

But the problem is larger than that. Over the past two years, Common Core has become one of the most politically radioactive issues in Mississippi. Seeing the standards as a federal incursion. into state and local control of schools. some parents and Tea Partyers have flooded local newspapers and online political forums to decry Common Core as everything from a broken "federal curriculum" to a tool of cultural warfare designed to brainwash children with an anti-Christian, anticapitalist and anti-American ideology. At least one local activist compared it to a "Muslim takeover of schools," the rhetorical equivalent, in the Bible Belt, of dropping an A-bomb.

Under pressure from this angry conservative base, Republican elected officials in Mississippi have started distancing themselves from the standards and may even vote to dump them midyear. In June, Governor Phil Bryant, who had once celebrated Common Core, called it "a failed program."

The same political battle is playing out on the national stage, where Common Core has become a proxy for simmering anger at the Obama Administration and a larger distrust of government. The fight has created strange bedfellows. In opposition, conservative groups are united with traditional lefties and local teachers' unions, which object to some of



the curriculums and homework assignments chosen by their states and districts and to the emphasis on standardized tests to evaluate teacher performance. Meanwhile, President Obama finds himself backed on the standards not by the liberal base that helped elect him but by national business groups and corporate leaders, who see the program as critical to building a more capable workforce to

Caught between these two fragile alliances are Republican politicians, who must choose between the demands of Tea Party-backed groups and those of Establishment forces like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. It has been an ugly fight. In a two-hour presentation this summer that was later rebroadcast in movie theaters across the country, right-wing pundits Glenn Beck and Michelle Malkin compared Common Core to communism and Nazism. So far at least nine Republican governors-including New Jersey's Chris Christie and Louisiana's Bobby Jindal, both 2016 presidential hopefuls—have tempered or retracted their support for





the standards. After Indiana Governor Mike Pence signed legislation ditching Common Core in March, a committee rewrote the Hoosier State's standards. They are now virtually identical to Common Core, minus the toxic name.

#### An Unexpected Divide

THE POLITICAL BACKLASH HAS TAKEN many supporters by surprise. Five years ago, the atmosphere was practically that of a bipartisan love-in when the National Governors Association and a group of the states' highest-ranking school officials convened, with the support of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, to draft the standards that became Common Core. The federal government backed the initiative, offering Department of Education grants to states as an incentive to adopt it. but it did not oversee the effort. The two biggest teachers' unions and the national business community supported the final draft, and by early 2011, 40 states had signed on to the shared standards. In the next two years, five more followed suit.

Lessons to learn Katrina Wiley talks to a class on the first day of school at H.W. Byers High School

Which made sense. The idea behind Common Core can be traced back to Ronald Reagan and was later championed by Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush: to create a set of rigorous but broadly defined academic concepts in math and English for levels from kindergarten through the end of high school that every American student should grasp. Among the expectations: all kindergartners should be able to count from 1 to 100 by 10s and 1s; all third-graders should be able to figure out the perimeter of a shape, given the length of the sides; and all sixth-graders should be able to write a short parrative of a historical event. While Common Core does not prescribe a specific curriculum or reading list-that's left up to states and

local school districts—it does emphasize teaching critical thinking skills over rote memorization, and accompanying standardized tests attempt to measure that. Rather than traditional fill-in-the-bubble multiple-choice exams, Common Core-aligned tests, which will be taken on computers in most school districts in spring, will include interactive problem solving and, in some instances, require students to provide a written justification for their answers.

The hope of supporters is that Common Core states will be able to measure whether their students have the skills they need in an increasingly mobile and globalized economy. As of 2012, at least 20% of college freshmen in the U.S. had to take remedial courses, a detour that not only derails many students' journey to a diploma but also costs taxpayers an estimated 32,5 billion a year in financial aid.

But that hope requires states to stay on board, and in Mississippi the polltics appears to be tilting against Common Core. This fall, the state legislature could vote to repeal the program. If it does, teachers may be asked to revert midyear to an older set of state standards, which he conservative Fordham Institute dismissed in 2010 as among the worst in the country. In that case, students could be required to take state exams different from the ones for which they spent the year preparing.

"Teachers really want to know if there
"Teachers really want to know if there

is going to be follow-through on this in our state," says Jerry Moore, the superintendent of the Marshall County school district, which includes Byers. "I tell them that's a really good question."

Proponents of Common Core say they are working to head off the uncertainty by making the implementation process go as smoothly as possible. The Mississipp idepartment of education has deployed teams of Common Core experts across the state to help teachers and administrators grapple with the new requirements and will disseminate information packets to legislators this fall. "A huge challenge this year will be educating beneral public about what the Common Core is and what it is nor," says Mississippi superintendent Carey Wright.

Meanwhile, teachers at Byers, where fewer than 70% of seniors in the class of 2013 graduated in four years, will do as they've always done. For Bettye Farrow-Williams, that means keeping her eye on a simple goal. "Show up every day," she says, "and teach the very best we can." APPRECIATION

## THE HEART OF COMEDY

ROBIN WILLIAMS 1951–2014

One man with a thousand voices brought joy to millions—but could not sustain it in himself

BY RICHARD CORLISS





## OCT. 14, 1981: ROBIN WILLIAMS' FIRST TIME WITH JOHNNY

Carson on The Tonight Show. He begins by denying he's nervous and proves it by slouching asti he were a deflated balloon. "I suffer from severe dyslexia too," he tells Carson." I was the only child on my block on Halloween to go, Trick or trout: "Instantly he transforms into his adult neighbors: "Here comes that young Williams boy again. Better get some fish." Trying to unearth some backstory, Carson asks, "Where is home for you?" Then, thinking better, "Or did you come from a home?"

That cues Robin as a visitor to an asylum talking to a patient: "If you haven't taken your medication yet, it's gonna be fun." Then, as he mimes struggling in a straitjacket, he channels a concerned doctor: "How are you, Mr. Williams?" Noticing the overhead mike, he rises, shouts, "Look! Flipper!" and makes a dolphin cry. "Right now there's a soundman going, 'What are you doing?"" and he outfits himself with imaginary headphones. Trying to calm himself, he says, "Relax, relax, relax, you're on TV" and, to Carson, "You're a nice man, you won't hurt me." Reaching for the host's famous coffee mug, he takes a sip, saying, "Don't be afraid, the sores went away." And in his macho voice: "A real man can stand up to herpes!"

In this first 75 seconds of his debut with the regining king of talk TV, Williams slipped into and out of a half-dozen characters, as if his mind were a Whac-a-Mole game housing a million critters of all species and shades, each ready to popul unbidden. He was already at 7V sensation as the benign extraterestrial Mork from Ork on Mork & Mindy and had starred as a comic-strip salior in Popeys. But that Tonight Show stint revealed the distilled form of Williams' unique genius—we can use the phrase without fear of exaggeration—in stand-up comedy and his visits with Carson, Dick Cavett, David Letterman, lay Leno and the other late night lions.

For all his serious film roles, which garnered him a Supporting Actor Oscar (for Good Will Hunting) and three Best Actor nominations, Williams at his purest was the id unleashed, geysering nonstop shtick of the highest order. "You're only given one little spark of madness," he said. "If you lose that, you're nothin'." His spark was a forest fire, a comic conflagration that warmed the world and damaged no one.

Perhaps excepting himself. Addicted to cocaine and alcohol, Williams also made frequent guest appearances at rehab clinics, held over by his own demand. His wild ways exhausted two wives and widowed the third, Susan Schneider, whom by all accounts he adored. He suffered from depression, not a rare malady for comedians, and surrendered to it on Aug. 11, when he hanged himself in his Tiburon, Calif, home. Rigor mortis had already set in when his personal assistant found him. Williams was 63.

His death touched a collective nerve, and the hearts of his myriad fans. Some looked back with awe at the nonpareil comedy he pinwheeled, playing indelible cartoon characters in Aladdin, Robots and Happy Feet. But many more mourners thought of Williams as one of the brave little men he incarnated in dramatic films. Movie goers detected the ache in his comic panache and the sad sweetness at his occ. They lowed the guy. Didn't he know that? And couldn't that realization give him a life preserving satisfaction?

The most poignant tribute came from his daughter Zelda, 25. "My family has always been private about our time spent together," she said in a statement. "It was our way of keeping one thing that was ours, with a man we shared with an entire world. But now that's gone, and I feel stripped bare. My last day with him was his birthday"-July 21, three weeks before his death—"and I will be forever grateful that my brothers and I got to spend that time alone with him, sharing gifts and laughter. He was always warm, even in his darkest moments. While I'll never, ever understand how he could be loved so deeply and not find it in his heart to stay, there's minor comfort in knowing our grief and loss, in some small way, is shared with millions,"

The urge for Robin McLaurin Williams to share his gift may have stemmed from neglect in his early years. His father Robert, a Ford Motor executive, moved the family from Chicago, where Robin was born, to Detroit. Robert died in 1987. (In Robin's 1998 Oscar acceptance speech,

'He was fast and furious, and I think there's something else that's behind there that you can't really quantify or define. You could just tell there was a humanity in Rahin Williams'.

> -BILL MAHER, COMEDIAN



'Robin was one of the great interviews. You'd see him coming down that red carpet and you knew, O.K., now we're gonna have fun. [One time], I had this incredible dress, I think it was

Dior, with great big gold feathers on the top, absolutely beautiful. And he came up and did five minutes on looking for eggs in my top, because I looked like a chicken. It was

fabulously insane.'

—JOAN RIVERS,

he reserved the final thank-you for "my father up there, the man who when I said I wanted to be an actor, he said, 'Wonderful, just have a backup profession, like welding.' 'I Robin's mother Laurie, a former model, completed the image of a picturebook Wasp family. 'Tie also had a really formal upbringing,' Joan Rivers, who relied on Williams as an inspired TV-chat companion, tells TME. ''He came from an upper-middle class family, very educated, very well read, very knowledgeable about everything, about literature."

With both parents often absent, Robin was a lonely child, playing with his enormous collection of toys; the family maids were his main minders and first audience. The Williamses later moved to a 40-room home in Bloomfield Hills, a suburb of Detroit, and when Robert retired he settled the family in Marin County, California, where Robin attended Redwood High School and emerged from his shell of shyness to join the drama society. In senior year he was voted both "funniest" and "least likely to succeed." He attended Claremont Men's College (now Claremont McKenna College) and later received a scholarship to study at New York City's Juilliard School, One of his classmates was Christopher Reeve, who would find stardom as the movies' Superman in 1978, the year Williams broke out as Mork-two actors with Broadway dreams who reached megafame playing endearing aliens.

### An Eruption of Improvisation

WILLIAM HAD THE MAKINGS OF A FINE DRAmatic actors a friendly face and a sturdy frame,
with a mime's agility and a powerful voice—
from the chest, not the throat—that echoed not
Brando and the Method men but the English and
American classicists. Yet John Houseman, the
eminent film and theater producer who served
as juilliard's famad irector before becoming a
TV star on The Puper Chase, told Williams he was
wasting his time as a student. Playing one character at at time, for months on end, didn't properly
exploit Williams glossolaliae gifor foleing everyone at once; that capering intelligence could find
its full expression in stand up comedy.

Most comics, then and now, honed their routines to letter-perfection. A few courted inspiration, and risked failure, with solo improv comedy. Mad-professor types like Brother Theodore and Irwin Corey turned their performances into rant-lectures that disdained punch lines and spiraled into twisted logic. Lenny Bruce and Richard Pryor were hipset social critics following their own elevated radar. Jonathan Winters, a Carson favorite (as dear Maude Prickert), was closes to Williams: he pirouetted from character to character, emitting more weird noises than a Warner Bros. cartoon soundtrack. The true brethren of these brilliant misfits were not stand-up comics but the most adventurous jazzmen. And if Bruce was the Louis Armstrong of solo improv comedy, and Winters the Charlie Parker, then Williams was Sun Ra, the farther-than-far-out composer who claimed be came from Saturn.

Of course Williams had a notion of what he would say on stage and often played unannounced giga at comedy clubs to hone his material. But the safety net of even a discursive narrative was too confining for all the voices waiting inside to burst out, like Linda Blair's devils in The Exorist, but hilarious. Williams took the anarcho improv impulse and flew with it—a Robin reaching the surreal stratosphere. When everyone else was analog, he was digital. That's why his comedy had many admirers but virtually no imitators. Who else could even think of doing that?

Moving to Hollywood, Williams served briefly in an ill-fated second edition of the TV vaudeville show Laugh-in. Then Garry Marshall, producer of Happy Days, saw Williams otherworldly appeal and tried harmessing it by casting him as Mork. In a 1993 Today interview with Gene Shalit, Williams minicked Marshalls gruff Bronx bonhomie in hiring him: "It's not Shakespeare, you'll have a good time."

In February 1978, Williams' Mork, beamed down from the planet Ork to join the Fonz (Henry Winkler) and Richie Cunningham (Ron Howard) in 1950s Milwaukee, proved such a sensation that the nanu-nanu boy got his own sitcom spin-off seven months later and graced the cover of TIME the following year. The Mork & Mindy situation was familiar-sort of a heterosexual My Favorite Martian, with Mork finding a romantic partner (Pam Dawber's Mindy) in Boulder, Colo.-yet the show changed TV comedy, a little, by occasionally letting the star run improvisationally amok. In the fourth season, he brought Winters into the show as Mork and Mindy's child Mearth. (Orkans age backward, if you're wondering.) Now Winters and Williams could do their thing together-the meeting, on primetime TV, of two wonderfully warped minds.

### Tenderness on the Big Screen

HE MAY HAVE LEFT JULLIARD, BUT JULLIARD SUT GUILLIARD Stayed with him. Instead of prusuing a career in movie comedy, as Pryor and the first stars of Saturday Night Live (did, Williams parayed his fame as Mork and Popeye into securing serious roles. Why does a clown want to play Hamlet? Maybe because he thinks he is that melancholy soul whom others find amusingly odd. (Williams and another unique stand-up comic, Steve Martin, played not Shakespeare but Beckettin Mike

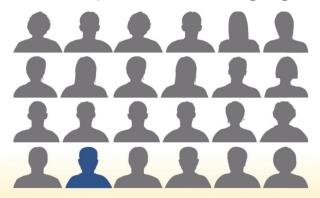


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'He was very shy and possibly a little embarrassed by his fame. Inside, he was really a comic. He was the first of four little clan of J San Francisco comedians to become a star—and not just a star, a megastar. So he was a swipbol of hove for a lot of us.'

-MARGARET CHO, COMEDIAN

Nichols' 1988 Lincoln Center production of Waiting for Godot.)

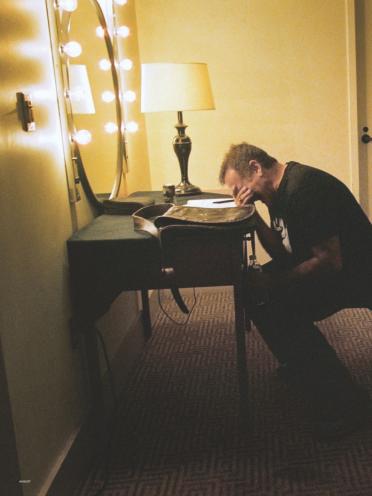
Whatever the compulsion, Williams took the lead as the suburban dad facing Job-like calamities in The World According to Garp. He was the Russian immigrant in Moscow on the Hudson, the psychologist with catatonic patients in Awakenings, the dead man searching for his wife in What Dreams May Come. He earned three Best Actor Oscar nominations-as the DI in Good Morning, Vietnam, the sainted teacher in Dead Poets Society and another DJ, nearly driven to suicide, in The Fisher King-all for roles that allowed him to assume multiple voices, at least in passing. (In Dead Poets he persuades prep-school boys to love Shakespeare by imitating Brando in Julius Caesar and imagining John Wayne as Macbeth.) He even got himself cast in Kenneth Branagh's 1996 film of Hamlet. Not the lead; Osric the courtier.

If his solo comedy work aimed to challenge and astound, most of his films tended to reassure, to touch the heart—sometimes with a brisk massage, as in the gay valentine The Birdagag, and at least once with egregious sentiment: the bullying teterierker Path Adams, which cast Williams as a clowning healer of sick children. (Apologies, reader, if that one got to you.) He was more comfortable in an outright comedy like Mrs. Dubliffer, where the sentiment of a divorced father scheming to be near his kids took second place to the spectacle of Robins as a bosomy Mary Poppins.

### A Friend in Need

WILLIAMS' RESTLESS ENERGY FOUND ANOTHER outlet in donations and appearances for 28 charities, according to the monitoring website Look to the Stars. He supported the St. Jude Children's Hospital and exported laughter to soldiers in USO tours to a dozen countries. When comedy writer and performer Bob Zmuda founded Comic Relief USA, Williams signed on with Whoopi Goldberg and Billy Crystal to host a series of HBO specials that raised some \$50 million for the homeless. Zmuda, citing Williams' upper-middle-class background, tells People, "Robin always felt a little guilty about all the good things he was given, so he had a real place in his heart for people who were homeless and suffering. He and Whoopi and Billy not only did the show, they would go to shelters together and meet the people they were helping. They were the real thing."

David Steinberg, the comedian who shared the stage with Williams in a 2013 concert tour, testifies to the star's devotion to his mentor Winters, who died last year. "He would drive to Santa Barbara weekly." Steinberg recalls, "to make sure Jonathan was O.K.—a comic genius looking after





'It was like Robin had the most brilliant audience inside his head throwing out suggestions. He would put combinations together that were just crazu, It's proof again that the good die young and pricks live forever.'

-LEWIS BLACK,

another comic genius. Robin looked after everyone. If only he would have looked after himself."

He was a friend in need and deed to Reeve, who died in 2002 after being paralyzed from the neck down in a 1995 fall from a horse. Williams served on the board of the Christopher & Dana Reeve Foundation, which raises money for research into spinal-cord injuries, and lifted research show, Reeve smilled as he spoke of one Williams with the spinal cord injuries, and lifted show, Reeve smilled as he spoke of one Williams visit. "Thank God I wear a seat belt in this chair, because I would have fallen out laughing. In the middle of a tagedy like this, in the middle of a depression, you can still experience genuine joy and laughter and love. And anyone who says life's not worth living is totally wrone; totally wrone; on the worth living is totally wrone; totally wrone;

Like the teachers he played in Dead Poets Societv and Good Will Hunting, Williams was always available for consultation, especially among his colleagues in the brutal game of stand-up. When Jamie Kilstein, the comedian who co-hosts Citizen Radio on Sirius, admitted in an email exchange that he was "having a really hard time," Williams phoned him for some late-night therapy. "A few months ago," Kilstein says, "Robin called me to talk me out of my depression. He asked if it was a money issue, and I said no. He wanted to know if he could do anything. He told me not to stop. He said, 'Just don't.' He just made me feel special." The pity is that Williams, who made so many people feel special on the phone or in person or through the TV or movie screen, never found a Robin Williams to salve his psychic wounds.

#### His Final Act

WILLIAM RETURNED TO SERIES TV LAST YEAR fOr The Cray Down, playing an adman running an agency with his daughter (Sarah Michelle Gellar). During a break in the shoot, says someone who worked with him, "Robin went and sat off to the side. And in that moment, his face just changed. He looked so exhausted and profoundly, deeply sad. And then one minute later, it was gone. He just snapped out of it and pulled himself back too gether. And you know what? He nailed the scene. Just nailed: List I said to him afterward, 'Hey, are you O.K.?' And he said something like, 'It's no fun getting old. And I am so f-cking old? But he said it in one of his funny voices, like he was some ancient old guv. Like it was a jobe.

CBS canceled The Crazy Ones in May, Two months later, Williams checked himself into his final rehab, seeking to "fine-tune" his commitment to sobriety. Comedians, whether or not they become movie stars, are also actors onstage alone, before a crowd that could be bored or hostile, they play characters that must be commanding or charming enough to win laughs and love. Offstage, they can be quiet or morose, and that could be Williams. "If you were alone with Robin," away Emuda, "and I've known this guy for 35 years, he would be so uncomfortable. It would be like being in an elevator with a stranger. But if there were two people in the room, then he would anap into performing. I think he was a guy who had a very difficult time if he was alone."

The man who could play anyone could not play only one: not only Robin Williams, whoever they were. He entertained the comic cacophony in his head, nearly as much as it entertained his fans. And then the voices told this Pierrot-Hamlet it was time for a rest. The rest is silence.

Williams called himself an Episcopalianhe once created a Top 10 Reasons to Be an Episcopalian ("No. 3: All of the pageantry, none of the guilt")-and imagined the afterlife as a posh restaurant, observing, "Death is Nature's way of saying, 'Your table is ready.'" He bequeathed that eerie optimism to Zelda, who the day after her father's death posted a passage from Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's children's classic, The Little Prince. It speaks of farewell but not goodbye, with the twinkling promise of mirth after death: "You-you alone will have the stars as no one else has them ... In one of the stars I shall be living. In one of them I shall be laughing. And so it will be as if all the stars were laughing, when you look at the sky at night ... You-only you-

will have the stars that can laugh." Just now we can cry for the man, for the torments he endured and the broken hearts of his family. But we would be wrong to remember him only as Robin Williams, Suicide. That would deny the best in ourselves-an inspired portion of which he planted there. On one episode of Mork & Mindy, Mork speaks with his (unseen) Orkan contact Orson about his sorrow over losing a friend. "You know," he says, crushed by bereavement, "when you create someone, you nurture them, they grow, and then there comes a time when they have to lead their own life." His voice breaks as he adds, "Or die their own death." Orson asks, "And now your friend is gone forever?" "No, Sir," Mork whispers, pounding his heart. "I'll always keep him right here."

So we recall Robin Williams as the stalwart friend whose generosity matched his genius, and the star who corralled his angels and demonstomake the world laugh in the maddest, merriest way. Our friend isn't gone forever. We'll always keep him right here.—with herofith be by sarah begley, kate cotyne, een doods, nolan feeney, larry getlen and laura lank/hey vork; job. Hetwar and little reice/Los angeles; and katy steinmetz/ marin, called the sarah sarah



## *WHEN* SHAZBOT *WAS SUBLIME*

The glorious madness of Mork from Ork by James Poniewozik

ROBIN WILLIAMS DIDN'T BELONG TO ME ALONE. At the peak of Mork & Mindy's success, when he made the cover of TIME in his first season, an average of 60 million people watched the show every week. (A No. 1 show today is lucky to get one-third that many viewers.) But when I was a kid, raised on a steady diet of ABC sitcoms, he was the first TV star who felt like mine-the first one who amazed me, who connected with me, whom I genuinely liked rather than simply liked to laugh at.

Mork & Mindy was not one of TV's greatest sitcoms-a Happy Days spin-off about a wacky space alien, it was not exactly trying to be.

But man, was Williams' a revelatory, gobsmacking performance! Kids especially loved Mork; he was a man and a child, buoyant, rubber-faced, an endless gusher of playful invention.

That superhuman ability to riff and improvise led producer Garry Marshall to first cast Williams in the 1950s-nostalgia sitcom Happy Days, whose characters (like Henry Winkler's Arthur "the Fonz" Fonzarelli) and catchphrases (Aaaaaaayyyy!) were enshrined on our lunch boxes. Soon enough Marshall gave Wil-

liams his own show—time-jumped to presentday 1978-to crank him up and let him run. (As Williams later recalled, "Literally, they would put in the script, 'Mork does his thing here.'")

Like any American child, I already loved the Fonz. But the Fonz was a grownup, with his motorcycles and dates with triplets. Mork was something else: an adult, and a kid, and a magical being. He was a grown man who looked at our world, which he was studying for his home planet, Ork, with the delighted surprise of a baby. (He was also, of course, channeling ideas from the adult comedic counterculture at the time, but all that my classmates and I heard were the funny voices.)

The Fonz was cool. Mork was weird-poppingout-of-an-egg, rainbow-suspenders, scat-riffingabout-the-Shah-of-Iran weird. And to every nerd-in-training in the audience, he communicated an idea that I hadn't seen in pop culture before then: that weirdness was O.K. No, it was great. It was energy. It opened up worlds. This being the '70s, Mork had his own

Before most of us had cable. he was 500 channels

catchphrases-Nanu nanu! Shazbot!-but what was captivating about Williams was the opposite of sitcom predictability. You didn't know what would come out of his mouth. In the classic Season I episode "Mork's Mixed Emotions," he begins by describing a dream he had to Pam Dawber's Mindy, his earthling roommate and later his wife: he becomes a one-man comedy troupe, lurching from confusion to anger to jealousy, arguing with himself in multiple voices and slapping himself in the face, finally becoming Mindy herself. In that first season, Williams was making a richfor-the-time \$15,000 an episode, but it was a bar-

gain: his producers were getting

a package deal.

So were the fans. We didn't know it, but Williams was giving us a preview of the future. His lightning free-associative improv, his ability to throw pop culture. philosophy and politics into a blender, the way he held a Surrealist party for a dozen voices in his head-it all foresaw the quickcut, hyperlinked, overstimulated, remote-controlled media world that was coming. Before most of us had cable, he was 500 channels. He was a one-man supercut video.

He was a human Internet.

But he was human, for all his superhuman speed and talent. One of the premises of Mork & Mindy was that Mork, like all Orkans, had no emotions. He didn't fool any of us for a second. Mork's clipped alienspeak notwithstanding, Williams played him as all emotion: delight, confusion, warmth, amazement, glee. His feelings cascaded over him, and he struggled to wrestle and understand them-which, of course, was another thing kids especially identified with in him. When Mork began to fall in love with Mindy, he was the only one who was surprised that he had it in him. As he would report back to his alien superior Orson, "Love doesn't make sense. That's why earthlings think it's so wonderful.'

Williams had a long career yet ahead of him: stand-up, movies, a brief return to sitcom TV in 2013's The Crazy Ones for CBS. But it was that first performance, that wonderful nonsense, that made me and millions of others feel he belonged to us-even as, like his Orkan alter ego, he truly belonged to the universe.

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We trace the evolution of a decades-long career, one signature role at a time





VARIOUS ROLES







BY ERIC DODDS











ON THE LEDGE VARIOUS ROLES























































































































































































## BOXING THE BLACK DOG

Why does the gift for great performance seem to go hand in hand with unshakable depression? BY DICK CAVETT

ROBIN WILLIAMS WILL NOT BE THE LAST CHERished performer to be snatched from our midst by depression and suicide.

It's a melancholy fact that what a musician friend calls the *real* blues and Winston Churchill called the black dog seems to have much too close an affinity to the performer's life. Depression seems to stalk the lively arts like Jack the Ripper, accompanied by depression's handmaider, suicide.

No one I know claims to know why. Is there something in the brain chemistry of the performer that produces this woeful result? I could fill this page and another with the names of famous and less so actors, comies and musicians who live miserably—and die—in association with that demon of a hound.

Booze is the favored self-treatment. Not surprising, because you will feel a little better, for a bit—a brief and costly reprieve, since alcohol is a depressant of the central nervous system.

I guarantee you that thousands, hearing of Robin's death, asked how he could do it when he had everything: fame, wealth, adulation, family love and another supposed insulator against the worst of the blues—plenty of work. No combination of those adds up to insurance. And the hectic, nerve-racking ups and downs of fortune in show business are, of course, a major factor in emotional disequilibrium.

You yourself may have thought, "How could he do this to his wife and kids?" Easy. Because what's been called the worst agony devised for man doesn't allow you to feel any emotion for kids, spouse, lover, parents ... even your beloved dog. And least of all for yourself.

I know Robin knew this. His death recalled a moment with him years ago in a small club. He came off after lifting a cheering audience to its feet. "Isn't it funny how I can bring great happiness to all these people," he said. "But not to myself."

The nonactor has a major advantage, because it's harder to hide the symptoms. The actor knows how to act. To play having fun. How often it's "He was the life of the party that night. And then he went home and ..."

Robin and I agreed once that it's galling to hear—when you're "in it"—the question: "What have you got to be depressed about?"
The great British actor and comedian Stephen

Fry, a fellow sufferer, replies, "And what have you got to have asthma about?"

Robin, like his idol Jonathan Winters, must have had one of the world's hardest talen with which to live and still retain personal balance. Stiting next to him on my old PBS show was like sitting in the Macy's barge next to the fireworks going off. He was at full manic comic frenzy for an hour without lettup. (We even improvised a short Shakespeare play together, with and without rhymed couplets) I caught his manic energy. It was exhilarating. And exhausting.

When it ended, I was wet and spent. It took him a while to come (partially) down, and I thought, "Can this be good for anyone? Can you be able to do all these rapid-fire personality changes and emerge knowing who you vourself are?"

But can any of us really see ourselves? I was unable to watch as how I once did with Lau-rence Olivier while I was virtually blind with depression. I later told Marlon Brando I could never watch it, knowing 18 look dead, slow and stupid. "Do me a favor," he said. "Watch it." I made myself watch. I looked fine. My eyes were bright, and the silences I recalled were gone. I called Brando, and I asked him what explained that. "Automatic pilot. We all get by on it when the clouds roll in. Too bad they roll back in when the performance ends and you get back under the bed."

This will not brighten the picture. Isaid to a brilliant psychopharmacologist recently that there must be a lot of progress and new medications since I suffered back in the '70s. The answer: "No, we're really not making much progress, I'm afraid."

Someday, will some chemical link be found between great, great performing talent and susceptibility to that awful conqueror of the talented performer? Are the gods jealous? Do the immortals cruelly envy the greatly gifted and, in the classic Greek manner, smite them low? The somewhat grim answer: we'd better enjoy them while we can.

Dick Cavett was the host of The Dick Cavett Show from 1968 to 1982. He is the author of the forthcoming Brief Encounters: Conversations, Magic Moments, and Assorted Hijinks. 'How could he do this to his wife and kids?' Easy. Because what's been called the worst agony devised for man doesn't allow you to feel any emotion for kids, spouse, lover, parents ... even your beloved dog. And least of all for yourself.



## **10 Questions**



In the course of the interview, Williams use at least 36 different

In March 2011, TIME interviewed Robin Williams for this page. The video of that conversation became one of the most watched features on TIME.com. Here are 10 exchanges that didn't fit the first time around

#### Is being funny sometimes a hindrance to social interaction?

People expect you to be wacky. They want to take a picture with their family, and they say, "Smile," and you say, "I am smiling." They expect you to be on and crazy. No. I do that sometimes onstage and other timesno. Other times people will come up and tell you some really nasty joke and go, "Use it." Really? That's a great place for your grandmother to keep her teeth. What? I can't use that joke. The great thing about walking around New York, especially looking like Saddam Hussein's stunt double, is people don't make a lot of eye contact.

## How about with family?

Years ago, I was reading a story to my daughter and I was doing voices and everything, and she turned to me and said, "Just read the story. And stick to the main points."

## There's a pervasive theory that when you're doing serious roles—

I grow a beard.

### Exactly. And then you're cleanshaven for the comedies.

No, it's not true. Sometimes the beard works, sometimes it doesn't. It depends. I can grow this beard in whatever time it takes to leave here and walk down the street.

#### We see a lot of celebrities with substance-abuse issues. Why?

I think celebrity itself is a drug. There's that whole thing—it comes and goes.
And now with tweeting and Facebook, it's like cybercrack.

Withdrawal from celebrity is an interesting thing. You see people going, "I'm not as famous. Oh, man, what am I gonna do?" "Steal some jewelry, Lindsay. That helps."

## Is addiction the price of fame, or is it the price of talent?

It's the price of drugs, actually.

Most of the time with drugs, if
you're famous, they give them
to you. It's good for business to
say that they get you high.

## Is it harder to be funnier when you're older?

[In an old-man voice] You ... try ... to ... stay ... funny. [In announcer voice] "Ladies and gentlemen, tonight we're going to talk about...shir. oh, memory? Actually, shir...oh, memory? Actually, shir...oh, shirl shir samazingly funny and still has everything going on all cylinders. And being with Jonathan Winters is still pretty wonderful. [Winters died in 2013] Tou see these guys like Mort or Don Rickles—that's what keeps them going, that's their survival. They still have it. They're still funny. That's what keeps them alive.

## Billy Crystal has said that standup is how comedians process things that are

I was thinking the other day about Tourette's syndrome, where you say whatever is in your subconscious. Why is it always dark things? Is there a nice side to your subconscious? Treally like you. I just want to pet you. In a nice way." Why can't we look for the positive id? The id is always, "Glaargar—you wanna do thaaaaa." But we won't get into that We'd hav to reboot.

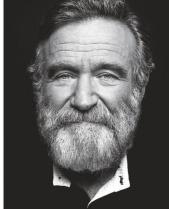
#### You are unique among comedians in that you haven't written a book.

No. I hope not to.

#### You hope not to?

Especially autobiography. I just don't have the discipline to do it. The learning, somewhat. But I don't have the discipline to really sit down and write a book. Maybe we'll cut to five years from now—'Tm here with my new book, So That's the Way You Like It." But I don't think some the work of the work of

-BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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